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POLAND OPTIMISTIC ON CSCE DESPITE BERN 'FIASCO'

LD282322 Warsaw PAP in English 2140 GMT 28 May 86

[Text] Warsaw, May 28: The Polish Public opinion does not hide its disappointment at the fact that, through the fault of the U.S., the six-week Bern meeting of experts in human contacts from 35 states participating in the CSCE process failed to adopt a compromise final document. The document was to include recommendations for the Vienna meeting of foreign ministers.

Poland invariably comes out in favor of the incessant continuation of the CSCE process and for all that can strengthen elements of political, military, and economic security and human rights. As far as the latter is concerned, much can still be done. The socialist states -- according to the communique of the meeting of foreign ministers of states parties to the Warsaw Treaty issued in Warsaw on March 20 -- want to consistently come out in favour of fully securing -- with respect for sovereignty of states -- human rights in all fields, and especially the right to live in peace and freedom.

This was expressed during the Bern meeting which was presented with many realistic concepts and proposals which could establish a basis for agreement in various fields [of] human contacts, including professional and private ones. Unfortunately, the U.S. attitude made the opportunity created by the Bern meeting be wasted.

In the recent past Western states many a time tried to use this part of the CSCE Final Act as a weapon against socialist countries. Meanwhile, it is a fact that it is the practice of Western states that limits, to a great extent, the freedom of private or professional travel, sports and other contacts between institutions and people, or cooperation in culture. This is evidenced by, for example, thousands of refusals to grant visas to Polish citizens who wanted to visit the main capitalist states.

During the Bern meeting, numerous proposals were submitted to sign agreements on mutual consular, legal, and medical assistance, but the U.S. delegation showed that the spirit of moderation and constructive cooperation is alien to it also in humanitarian matters.

In his closing speech, the chairman of the Polish delegation said that, though disappointed with the actual results, we remain optimists because the entire CSCE process still goes on. The Vienna meeting to start on November 4 can make up for the fiasco of the Bern meeting in outlining a network of significant agreements.

REPORT ON MALTREATMENT OF ETHNIC TURKS REBUTTED

AU281458 Sofia BTA in English 1201 GMT 28 May 86

["The Groundless Slanders of Amnesty International" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 28 (BTA commentator Sergey Nakov -- An organisation called "Amnesty International", which claims to be "a worldwide movement independent of any government, political persuasion or religious creed", has recently circulated a report entitled "Bulgaria. Imprisonment of Ethnic Turks. Human rights abuses During the Forced Assimilation of the Ethnic Turkish Minority."

The report tendentiously distorts both Bulgarian history and present-day reality. It is based on groundless accusations, it uses unsound arguments, it is full glaring discrepancies. It misrepresents some generally known truths about Bulgaria's history, as since when and on what territories she has existed. It even disinforms about such incontrovertible facts as the date of Bulgaria's admission to U.N. membership.

In a paricularly stark contrast to truth are the allegations that at the end of 1984 and the beginning of 1985, during the implementation of some alleged campaign of forced assimilation in Bulgaria, the security forces have reportedly killed more than 100 of what Amnesty International calls "ethnic Turks".

No such events have ever taken place in Bulgaria, either in the said period or at any other time. There have been no "sustained clashes" between the security forces and the population, nor any social conflicts, disturbances or anything of the kind. Under no circumstances have people been killed, wounded, or harassed. Thus, the subject of that report is simply non-existent.

All this is perfectly well known, but we nevertheless decided to check the "information" cited by Amnesty International. With the help of the BTA home correspondents, we tracked down the most flagrant allegationss in that report and its appendix. Our colleagues have gathered detailed information about the persons listed as killed by Amnesty International.

And, just according to expectation, it turned out that a sizeable portion of the names on the "victims" list have been invented. No such people have ever been born or have ever lived in the respective villages. Moreover, the computers of the unified system of public records registration and administrative services (E.S.G.R.A.O.N.) have helped us find out that such persons have never existed and do not exist in Bulgaria. Amnesty International is passing off for victims imaginary, fictitious, non-existent persons. Here is a sample: Mehmed Ahmedov of Krumovgrad. Kwrdzhali District; Adem Ismailov Aliev of Tutrakan, Silistra district; Chetin Erov of the village of Yablanovo, Sliven District; Ibrahim Khalilov of the village of Buynovo, Turgovishte district; Shaban Mehmedov of the village of Dobromir, Burgas district, and others.

The report numbers among those killed people who have been long dead of natural causes. Here are some of the cases: Mehmet Khyuseinov Aptulov of the village of Dobromir, Burgas District, who died of lung cancer on May 21, 1976; Fikret Ilyazov Aliev of Dzhebel, Kurdzhali District, who died in hospital on August 7, 1977; Osman Mehmedov Khyuseinov of the village of Dobromir, Burgas District, who was killed in an accident on September 8, 1978; Mehmet Khasanov Khyuseinov of the village of Dobromir, Burgas District, who died of heart attack on April 27, 1979; Zayim Kerimov Aliev of the Village of Panichkovo, Kurdzhali District, who died a non-violent death on September 4, 1983. This list can be extended.

Many of those prounced killed and bemoaned by Amnesty International are happily living with their children and families, working, visiting friends. When our correspondents went to see them, those Bulgarian citizens voiced indignation over the speculation with their names and over their being abused to the end of anti-Bulgarian propaganda.

Our correspondents met with the following people reported to be killed:

In Razgrad District: with Martin Chavdarov Asenov (previously Murat Ferhadov) of Kubrat, Mincho Angelov Filipov (Mustafa Aptulov Ferhadov), Andrey Andrev Tikholov (Ahmet Ahmedov Mehmedov) and Angel Minchev Kunchev (Aptulla Mehmdeov Kochev) of the village Yonkovo.

In Ruse District: with Milcho Pirinski (Myumyum Ibishev Kelov) and Milcho Alekov Alekov (Mehmet Aliev Mustafov) of the village of Svalenik, Ferdo Issaev Belberov (Fedail Sabriev Kadirov) of the Village of Yudelnik, Milen Asenov Kolev (Mehmet Hasanov Kelov), born in the village of Opaka, Turgovishte District, now living and working in Ruse.

In Kurdzhali District: With Pavlina Marinova Aldekova (Pakize Myumyunova Hasanova), Filip Rusinov Khorozov (Fehim Hyseinov), Ignat Martinov Kalinov (Ismet Mehmedov Duralov) and Yordan Yankov Yosifov (Yusuf Yakubov) of Kyrdzhali, Iskren Ognayanov Khrelkov (Smail Osmanov Halilov) of Monchilgrad, Shtilian Asenov Yulkianov (Shaban Hyusniev Hyuseyinov) of the village of Gorno Prakhovo.

All those allegedly dead people enjoy their life and work. In its report, Amnesty International cites three Bulgarian villages as scenes of "deliberate killings by the security forces" of "ethnic Turks". No such cases have occurred on the territory of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Still, our correspondents did visit the places in question: The villages of Benkovski, Kardzhali District (where, according to the report, "six were killed, among them a two-year old child and her mother, and 40 wounded") the village of Gorno Prakhovo, Kurdzhali District (eight killed) and the village of Yablanovo, Sliven District (where 34 people were allegedly killed and "29 or 30 taken to hospital with gunshot wounds").

The correspondents interviewed the mayors Karamfil Karamfilov, Shtilian Yulianov and Spas Terziev, the Imams Zdravko Iliev, Metodi Khristov and Angel Petkov, and Vladimir Komanov and Angel Petkov, representatives of the largest public and political organisation, the Fatherland Front. They were all shocked by the A.I. slanders and wished to refute them in writing.

The thoroughgoing inquiry and all facts collected were undeniable evidence that the content of the Amnesty International report does not correspond to reality. The report is a deliberate, tendentious and willful misrepresentation. It is a sordid encroachment of the good name of socialist Bulgaria, part of the all-out smear campaign launched by the arch-reactionary imperialist circles against Bulgaria and the other socialist countries, against the real socialism. Such actions are targeted against peaceful coexistence and detente, against the spirit of Helsinki, against the interests of mankind. These actions support the warmongering forces and their line of confrontation, mounting international tensions and escalation of the arms race.

The report makes use of the traditional methods of all political slanders: references to anonymous eyewitnesses and to some mysterious sources. The analysis of the facts shows that the "sources" in question can only be found outside Bulgarian territory. These are the secret NATO centers and above all the Turkish secret services who falsify and fabricate information with vile political objectives in mind. Amnesty International claims to be impartial and independent, but this is not the first time that it has slandered Bulgaria, and now it abuses the human rights issue to sow the seeds of mistrust among the nations.

BALEV SPEAKS TO BLAGOEVGRAD CONSTITUENTS

AU221809 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 21 May 1986 carries on page 6 a 1,200-word BTA report on a meeting of the Blagoevgrad city Election District held on 20 May 1986, which was attended and addressed by Milko Balev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, who is the candidate of this election district for the forthcoming national Asembly elections.

The meeting was also attended by Lazar Prichkapov, first secretary of the Blagoevgrad Okrug BCP Committee and by "leaders of the town and okrug."

Milko Balev is reported delivering an "election speech" which he opened with the following statement: "Our people's confidence in the policy of the BCP, in the policy of our socialist Fatherland Front government is a confidence achieved with energetic efforts and is well-deserved." It is based on the major historic successes of our country, achieved under the party's leadership thorughout the last 42 years of people's government." Balev further elaborates on the economic success of the country and of the Blagoevgrad area during the years of socialist construction, and points out in particular "the April plenum influence upon the okrug's and town's development," especially during the last 5-year plan period and in the time period since the last National Assembly elections. He adds: "Our people's confidence in the BCP policy, in the policy of our government in particular as regards the election period, during which we are assessing our achievements, is not only based on the results of the past, it is also based on the future tasks assigned to our country." Balev dwells on the tasks stemming from the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and further stresses: "The 13th BCP Congress mapped out a new stage in the development and expansion of socialist democracy. It gave new impetus to the expansion of economic democracy, and hence, of all other forms of democracy in our society." He further points out:

"The elections are a brilliant manifestation of socialist democracy. In the process of their preparation the entire population is discussing the results of party and government policy. The constitutents are expressing their evaluations, they are submitting reocmmendations, proposals, and cricticism. The issues which are to be solved are being selected. The assignments of the constitutents are being submitted to the candidates for deputies for the forthcoming mandate period.

"We are now invoived in a democractic process. This is a mature, serious expression of the people's will, of their opinions -- deprived of any empty noise, damagogy, and lies," the speaker states. He continues:

"Eections are a public and official evaluation made by the working people about the actions of the political power. This is a basic act in the process of developing the representatives organs of govenment, in conformity with the people's will."

Milko Balev closes his speech with the following statement: "Once more we are becoming convinced that the people's will, the opinion of the people, the voice of the people, which resounds with deep and ancient wisdom, which expresses the interests of the common people, the people's views and aspirations -- these are the supreme opinions, and the supreme power of April Bulgaria."

"The present elections are a period of enhanced political activities of the population. They represent a political continuation of the 13 BCP Congress which was held last month. The elections represent the broadest mass method of confirming the confidence of working people in the party, the government, and the Fatherland Front, in the past and future deeds and activities of our political and economic system."

Following Balev's speech, the constituents "submitted assignments to their candidate, connected with the construction of the okrug capital, with its urbanization, with accelerating the planning and construction of a thermo-electric power station and dam, with the building of a trolley bus network and an okrug Pioneers' club."

VASIL TSANOV MEETS WITH YAMBOL CONSTITUENCY

AU281912 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 28 May 86

[Text] On 28 May in Yambol a meeting of the voters of the 393 Yambol constituency with Vasil Tsanov, BCP Central Committee secretary and candidate of this constituency for the Ninth National Assembly, took place. In his preelection speech he dwelled on some of the main aspects of the party's new strategy in the area of economic policy. The voters gave concrete instructions to their candidate.

STOYANOV MEETS CONSTITUENCY IN TURGOVISHTE

AU281950 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 28 May 86

[Text] On 28 May in Turgovishte a preelection meeting took place between the voters of the 361st constituency in Turgovishte and Comrade Dimitur Stoyanov. He spoke about the importance of the decisions of the 13th BPC Congress and dwelled on the great instructions and tasks posed by the Congress for the further intensive socio-economic and cultural development of the country during the Ninth 5-Year Plan period, and until the end of the century.

Comrade Dimitur Stoyanov received instructions on facilitating the solution of certain socio-economic problems of Turgovishte and the conurbation system.

ALEKSANDROV RECEIVES USSR KOMSOMOL SECRETARY

AU271905 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 27 May 86

[Text] On 27 May Comrade Chudomir Aleksandrov received Nikolay Dolgushkin, secretary of the Central Committee of the Lenin Domsomol, leader of the delegation of the Lenin Komsomol for the seminar of the Dimitrov and Lenin Komsomol organizations, in which the first secretaries of the fraternal okrug and oblast Komsomol organizations are prticipating. Comrade Chudomir Aleksandrov briefed the guest on the activity implemented in our country for putting into effect the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and on the tasks of the party organizations in educating the youth and working with the Dimitrov Komsomol. The meeting was attended by Andrey Bundzhulov, first secretary of the Dimitrov Komsomol Central Committee.

HUSAK RECEIVES SOVIET AMBASSADOR LOMAKIN

LD282016 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 28 May 86

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic, today received Viktor Lomakin, ambassador of the USSR in Czechoslovakia. They discussed topical questions of Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation.

HUSAK CONGRATULATES DKPS CHAIRMAN ON REELECTION

AU061207 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 May 86 p 1

[Text] Prague (CTK) -- Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, sent a telegram of congratulations to Herbert Mies on his reelection as chairman of the German Communist Party. The telegram stresses the confidence and authority that Comrade Mies enjoys both in the DKP and the international communist and workers movement. It expresses the conviction that the traditional friendship and mutual cooperation between the two fraternal parties will continue to develop and intensify in the interest of the people of the two countries, and in the interest of the joint struggle for peace, socialism, and progress in the world.

CPCZ CENTRAL CONTROL, AUDITING COMMISSION MEET

AU120931 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Apr 86 p 1

[Text] Prague (CTK) -- The second session of the CPCZ's Central Control and Auditing Commission took place on Thursday [24 April] in Prague. The deliberations were chaired by Jaruslav Hajn, the commission's chairman.

The commission dealt with certain issues of contents, method, and organization connected with its activity to ensure the tasks following from the conclusions adopted by the 17th CPCZ Congress.

The commission discussed the plan of this year's work. By applying more resolute control, it will be aiding the fulfillment of socioeconomic tasks, particularly the acceleration of the process of production intensification and the strengthening of the qualitative aspects of production. It will be checking on this particularly in the agencies and institutions in the central sphere. It will direct all its activity toward influencing the implementation of the Leninist style of work, of a highly exacting attitude, and of responsibility, and also influencing the consolidation of the party's unity and party discipline.

In its control and inspection activity, in investigating the working people's complaints and suggetions, it will be paying more attention to the good results and experience that must be generalized, to the causes of shortcomings, and to arranging for rectification on the spot. In the efficiency of the fight against violations of the principles of socialist legality, morality, and discipline, the commission will continue to strive to overcome and remove shortcomings, which have serious economic and moral political consequences.

The commission also adopted a statement on the results of the CPCZ's economic affairs for the year 1985. It dealt with the analysis of appeals against party punishments and with the report on the settlement of working people's letters which were sent to it last year. It also discussed the results of the check on the handling of letters in the editorial office of TRIBUNA magazine.

HONECKER MEETS WITH SPD CHAIRMAN VOGEL

LD281657 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1422 GMT 28 May 86

[Text] Berlin, 28 May (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, and Dr Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the SPD group in the Bundestag, met for an exchange of views on 28 May 1986 in Hubertusstock Palace at Lake Werbellin. This is the fourth meeting within the framework of the continuing exchange of views agreed to in 1983. The talk took place in an open, businesslike, and constructive atmosphere.

In agreement, the interlocutors see the aim of their meeting as contributing to safeguarding peace in central Europe and to improving the living conditions of people in both German states in accordance with the spirit of the Basic Treaty of 1972. Hans-Jochen Vogel said that he thinks such meetings should also take place at the level of state and government leaders from both German states. The meeting at Lake Werbellin in 1981 had made a start in this respect, which should be continued in the not too distant future.

Erich Honecker and Hans-Jochen Vogel discussed the international situation in detail. They expressed their concern about the undiminished continuation of the arms race and the danger of it spreading into space. But it is becoming increasingly clear that ther was no alternative to peaceful, equal coexistence between states of differing social orders, and that security in the age of mass destruction weapons could no longer be guaranteed against, but only with one another. It is necessary to discuss the existing arms control and disarmament proposals during the negotiations in Geneva, Vienna, and Stockholm with the will for understanding and to reach concrete agreements soon. This is particularly true for the initiatives proposed recently by the Soviet Union. Both sides regretted that the nuclear test moratorium offered and practiced by the Soviet Union had not led to a bilateral test ban. As far as the reduction of conventional weapons was concerned, Erich Honecker said that the Warsaw Pact states would propose a detailed program for negotiations in the near future.

In this connection Erich Honecker and Hans-Jochen Vogel praised the joint proposals for a zone free of chemical weapons in Europe and the talks that had started between experts from both sides about a nuclear weapons free corridor in Europe. Such initiatives show in an exemplary manner how the two German states could make their own contributions to safeguarding peace while preserving fully their respective alliance obligations. The interlocutors were in favor of the conclusion of a nonaggression treaty between the Warsaw Pact states and NATO.

Both sides are convinced that the Helsinki Final Act continues to provide a sound basis for the gradual establishment of a European peace order. A fundamental condition for peace is the inviolability of frontiers and the respect of territorial integrity and the sovereignty of all states in Europe within the present frontiers. Equally, the realization of human rights as defined by the United Nations and established in the Helsinki Final Act contributes to the securing of peaceful conditions.

Both sides spoke in favor of a steady improvement of international cooperation in other fields as well, for example, in the fight against terrorism or in the exchange of information about threats to the environment extending beyond the borders of one country and overcoming them.

Hans-Jochen Vogel expressed his regret that the information in a serious case, which had also affected the FRG, had become available only piecemeal and with delay. In this field too there was a community of responsibility. Erich Honecker regretted that the FRG had not made use of the information the GDR had published immediately and which had promptly informed citizens that there was no danger to their health.

Erich Honecker and Hans-Jochen Vogel spoke in favor of a further expansion of reciprocal contacts on other levels as well. The youth contact programs and the town twinning that had now been agreed between Eisenhuettenstadt and Saarlouis were encouraging examples of this. Both sides praised the level of contact that had been achieved between the GDR People's Chamber and the German Bundestag, which had found particularly visible expression with the visit of People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann in February of this year. Official relations between the Bundestag and the People's Chamber should now be considered soon. This is an important step on the path to further normalizing relations between the two German states on the basis of equality.

Erich Honecker and Hans-Jochen Vogel noted that the Basic Treaty and the regulations and agreements built on it had made possible the solution of a whole series of problems for the benefit of both German states and their citizens. Among these agreements was the cultural agreement as well. This would promote reciprocal knowledge about cultural developments in both German states and lead to increased reciprocal stimulus in an important field of spiritual and artistic creativity. Both sides expressed the hope that the negotiations between government experts from both German states about an environmental framework agreement would soon achieve concrete results. Hans-Jochen Vogel further called for additional improvements in transport links, particularly of rail links, as well as for the opening of a new border crossing point in the Luechow-Dannenberg area. The interlocutors held an open exchange of views on questions of state citizenship, the Elbe border, and the Salzgitter registry. They were in agreement in particular that the course of the Elbe frontier could be jointly agreed upon in the section between Lauenburg and Schnackenburg as well.

Erich Honecker said that in the course of the joint establishment of the Elbe border, the interests of people living on the Elbe, Elbe users, and Baltic fishermen could also be taken into account. Hans-Jochen Vogel welcomed the readiness of the German Democratic Republic to consider the inclusion of the cities of Hannover and Hamburg in the settlement of the so-called "local border traffic."

Both sides praised the development of travel between both German states and the development of family reunification. Hans-Jochen Vogel brought up humanitarian questions and expressed the wish for the further expansion of travel and a reduction of cases in which travel is not possible as yet. Hans-Jochen Vogel also spoke in favor of former GDR citizens being allowed to travel in the GDR within the framework of existing regulations. These questions are of particular importance for the SPD and for him personally. Finally, Hans-Jochen Vogel expressed the hope taht the inhabitants of Berlin (West) would be included fully in the benefits, in accordance with the quadripartite agreement, which resulted from the cooperation between the FRG and the GDR for mutual benefit.

He also stressed the importance of the completely equal treatment of the members of the German Bundestag from Berlin (West) within the framework of the quadripartite agreement. In any case, this agreement has to be fully applied and strictly adhered to in every respect.

Erich Honecker and Hans-Jochen Vogel agreed to continue their regular exchange of views.

Taking part in the talk were Joachim Herrmann, member of the Politburo and SED Central Committee secretary; and Frank-Joachim Herrmann, member of the SED Central Committee, state secretary and head of the Council of State chairman's chancery; Dr Juergen Schmude, member of the Bundestag; Eugen Selbmann, foreign policy advisor of the SPD Bundestag group; and Professor Dieter Schroeder.

Vogel Comments on Talks

LD281850 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1601 GMT 28 May 86

[Text] Berlin, 28 May (ADN) -- The regular consultations with Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, which were started on this date 3 years ago, were highly praised by Dr Hans-Joachim Vogel, chairman of the SPD Bundestag group, at an international press conference in Berlin today. His fourth meeting with Erich Honecker showed that the regular exchange of views, which consisted of more than arbitrary meetings, is beginning to bear fruit. The continuing exchange of views dealt both with the safeguarding of peace and with bilateral problems. Hans-Joachim Vogel said: "I therefore have reason to publicly thank the chairman of the GDR State Council for this series of talks."

Hans-Joachim Vogel then dealt with a series of points from the joint statement and said that the plan to make Erlagen and Jena sister cites was mentioned in the talk. He reaffirmed the view of his parliamentary group that it is high time to establish official contacts between the People's Chamber and the Bundestag.

The political importance that the GDR leadership attaches to the fact that the FRG has concluded an agreement on SDI participation and has thus taken political coresponsibility for the SDI project was made clear again in the talk with Erich Honecker. His impression is that the Federal Government in Bonn has underestimated the political effects. The concern which we repeatedly expressed in the early stages of the Bundestag debate, Dr Vogel said, has sadly been fully confirmed here.

With regard to the CSCE review conference in Bern, Dr Vogel said it is regrettable that the closing document has been thwarted by the objections of the United States. He expressed regret that such a document, which is very important for the development of tourism, has failed to evolve.

Then the SPD floor leader answered questions on the mutual positions and joint activities of the SPD and the SED for disarmament and for the safeguarding of peace. Recently there was agreement that the talks about a chemical weapon-free zone and their results could form a solid basis for the withdrawal of the U.S. and Soviet poison gas stocks from the FRG and the GDR, he said.

The Federal Government's refusal to respond to these proposals was difficult for him to understand politically. The SPD will make another attempt in Bonn to question and discover why no use was made of this opportunity in Bonn, which was brought up again by the GDR and the CSSR jointly at government level.

Dr Vogel responded to a question from GDR television and emphasized that he had again gained the impression from his talk with Erich Honecker that the GDR is ready to undertake all steps aimed at making peace more secure. This is also the light in which the joint efforts of the SPD and the SED must be seen; the most effective joint efforts so far are probably the agreement in respect of a chemical weapon-free zone. Now they are dealing with the difficult topic of a nuclear weapon-free corridor.

In this respect the Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium on nuclear weapons tests should be praised and it is regretted "that the other superpower did not respond to that". Finally, there are still other points of agreement between the SPD and the SED.

In response to a question of whether the future of the peaceful use of nuclear energy was also discussed against the background of the Chernobyl accident, the SPD floor leader said he received understanding for the SPD's energy policy. As is known, this could be summed up in the formula "get down to getting out".

Honecker Cited on Passport Issue

LD290112 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1725 GMT 28 May 86

[Excerpts] Berlin, 28 May (ADN) -- The regular consultations with Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, which were started 3 years ago today, were highly praised by Dr Hans-Joachim Vogel, chairman of the SPD Bundestag group, at an international press conference in Berlin today.

The political importance that the GDR leadership attaches to the fact that the FRG has concluded on agreement on SDI participation and has thus taken political coresponsibility for the SDI project was made clear once again in the talk with Erich Honecker. This impression is that the Federal Government in Bonn had underestimated the political effects. This was not only the view of the GDR leadership, but clearly also the opinion of the other member-states of the Warsaw Pact. The concern that we repeatedly expressed in the early stages of the Bundestag debate, Dr Vogel said, has sadly been fully confirmed here.

A further comment from Hans-Joachim Vogel related to the Federal Environment Office and the framework agreement on the environment. It has become clear that the GDR leadership is working on the assumption that a solution can be found here that is roughly oriented toward the solution of a cultural agreement. There was certainly interest.

There was also a lengthy talk on the debate currently under way in the Federal Republic on the peaceful use of nuclear energy, and particularly on the line of the Social Democrats. Our impression is, said the SPD Bundestag group chairman, that this line is not only viewed with attention, but that the elements of the line are also certainly respected. Dr Vogel told journalists that the statement published on his talks with Erich Honecker was a joint communique. It made clear what issues both sides agreed on, but equally "where one or the other put forward a particular view."

In reply to questions on control measures for diplomats at the border to Berlin (West), the SPD politician said it had become clear in his talk with Erich Honecker that the GDR leadership was not interested in an exacerbation that might create a crisis situation. It wants rapid understanding in practical questions. In general, there was no complaint about identity checks, that is to say checks to guarantee that anyone passing through is indeed who he says he is. The GDR rightly pointed out that it had been asked to increase controls precisely in connection with combatting terrorist dangers. Dr Vogel stressed that he also welcomed the restraint which had been shown by the FRG Government in this question. In the course of the press conference, in which the head of the FRG permanent mission, Hans Otto Braeutigam, took part, Dr Vogel was asked about a visit by the GDR State Council chairman to the FRG. The SPD politician replied: "I have so far avoided taking part in this speculation, and would like to do so here as well.

COMMENTARY VIEWS SALT II DEBATE IN U.S.

LD282125 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1605 GMT 28 May 86

[Horst Kaeubler commentary]

[Text] The debate over the continued existence of the Soviet-American SALT II treaty on the limitation of strategic offensive weapons has entered a critical stage in the U.S. Last night President Reagan decided to keep to the treaty obligations for now, but the hardest tests for the continued existence of the treaty, to which so far both states have kept although it has not been ratified by the United States, are still to come. Horst Kaeubler comments:

The United States will scrap two old Poseidon class submarines, each fitted with 16 nuclear missiles, when the Nevada, the eighth submarine in the new Trident class with 24 nuclear missiles, goes into service. Press Spokesman Speakes announced that the President is thus maintaining the top level of strategic missiles laid down in the SALT II treaty. There was long, very long hesitiation in Washington before this decision was reached. Influential forces within the administration, particularly in the Pentagon, wanted to fill the naval arsenal with new Trident nuclear submarines without scapping olde warships, as SALT II calls for.

That there has after all been reconsideration in the White House must certainly be ascribed to the fact that the U.S. Government was subjected to massive pressure. It was not only the allies that showed disquiet: In the United States itself prominent politicians warned that U.S. withdrawal from the SALT obligations would call into question all progress in disarmament questions.

At the start of this week leading members of the U.S. delegation that negotiated the SALT treaty, including chief negotiatior Gerard Smith, called on President Reagan to keep as conscientiously to the treaty -- which was achieved after years of laborious negotiations -- as the Soviet Union has done so far.

But, however positive the decision may seem, listeners, there remain problematic questions about the continued existence of SALT II. Speakes said the White House has only provisionallly decided to respect SALT II; anything further said the official White House interpreter, depends on the Soviet Union. Does Moscow intend to violate the treaty? This is almost what one must read from Mr Speakes' reproachful words. In fact, the Soviet Union contines to stick to its offer to scrap all nuclear weapons according to a firm schedule. For a third time Moscow has unilaterally extended its nuclear test moratorium.

So far, however, Washington has not found it possible to be really serious on disarmament, as we are always assured it is. So what can depend on the Soviet Union? The most serious test of whether SALT II can resist the attacks of its opponents will come in the second half of this year. Larry Speakes will not have to keep a look out for the bad guys to absolve Washington from the responsibility. No Soviet secret service assignment is required to find out that the U.S. B-52 long-range bombers are being switched to cruise missiles. Over 100 have already been equipped with these cruise missiles and further B-52's are continually being added. Was it not the President himself who recently said he intended to further equip the fleet of bombers with cruise missiles without removing other systems, even if this means the top level of strategic offensive weapons laid down in SALT II was exceeded? Whether in East or West, everywhere there is agreement that the SALT treaties between the USSR and the United States on the limitation of strategic offensive weapons is the basis for future progress in disarmament questions. Whoever questions them initiates a disquieting development.

U.S. STAND ON S. AFRICA, NUCLEAR TESTING VIEWED

DW280831 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 26 May 86

[Albert Reiss commentary: "The World Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow"]

[Excerpts] The week started with South Africa and ended with South Africa. It started with the barbaric murderous attacks by the racists on the neighboring countries of Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Botswana, and it ended with an unmasking of the United States and Great Britain in the UN Security Council, where the two permanent members abused their vito power in order to protect the racist against effective sanctions.

Actually, the attitude shown by the Americans and the Britons during the Security Council meeting is a signal to the racist regime in South Africa -- it is sort of green light. It must be feared that Botha and his gang will take that signal the way Washington and London really mean it -- keep it up, and in a crunch you can count on us. People are bound to wonder, in view of that, what is the use of the mutual expulsion of military attaches. Perhaps it is not just eyewash. It is conceivable that the United States thinks it might need an alibi in hand, tiny as it may be, so as to say: We have not really been that friendly toward the racists; at least we expelled the South African military attache, and we accept that they treat our attache in Pretoria the same way.

Representatives of South Africa's white-skinned high finance are seeking to talk with the representatives of the black population -- the majority of the population -- and they are indeed talking with them. That is one aspect that must be considered. The other aspect, the weightier one, came to light in the Security Council. As before, the racist regime represents a position to the United States that it wants to maintain, that it needs as a scourge for the African people. It must be feared that similar things will happen again. The pattern is well known -- carrying helicopters, murder commandos, bombers, and sappers posing as tourist or business people.

That is what happened at the beginning of last week, exactly the way the United States raided Libyan cities, or the way the Israeli secret service carries out its murder attacks. However, those are the same people and the same governments that, allegedly, have made fighting international terrorism their main task. They had better start at home and in that of the South African racists.

Last Wednesday the U.S. conducted its fourth nuclear weapons test of the year. It did not bother them that on 10 April their installations in the Nevada desert were damaged. So much radioactivity leaked that the American press wrote -- much later because authorities had not reported it -- about heavy contamination. But more importantly, the Wednesday test came 1 week after Mikhail Gorbachev said in his 14 May television address that the USSR had again extended its nuclear test moratorium to 6 August, which continues to be unilateral.

Since the beginning of the Soviet moratorium about 10 months ago, the United States has carried out as much as 11 nuclear tests. Is that the Reagan administration's answer to previous Soviet concessions? It must be feared that it is. People automatically wonder and ask whether the United States wants to destroy all the hopes that arose in Geneva. Do they want to prove that there may not be nuclear disarmament, or only on their conditins at best? That would mean SDI. That way is based on old thinking. U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger wrote in FOREIGN OFFICE: We are striving for new concepts to find ways of shaping our deterrence more effectively. End quotation.

In thinking that way, one thinks of star wars, of SDI. Certainly, that kind of thinking corresponds to the needs of the weapons industry and of profiteers. But that is what makes that kind of thinking dangerous, what makes it absolutely essential to overcome such thoughts.

It could happen by changing one's way of thinking, or by other changes. There is no formula.

The USSR is on an opposite path, even as to concept. Mikhail Gorbachev put it quite strongly: New quality and increased numbers of weapons have led to a higher degree of insecurity. Efforts by the USSR to deflect strategic thinking from deterrence and to steer development, going on since 1945, in the opposite direction -- toward disarmament -- becomes visible in the USSR nuclear disarmament program. This program is to rid the world of nuclear weapons within 14 years, in a conventional weapons program -- included in proposals the CPSU general secretary made to the West at the 11th SED Congress -- in discontinuing and even cancelling U.S. missile deployment in Western Europe, and finally in further prolonging the nuclear explosion moratorium.

There are a lot of negotiating offers addressed to the United States and NATO. It is very difficult to comprehend what drove NATO's defense ministers in Brussels to agree to new U.S. chemical weapons. As if we did not have enough mass destsruction weapons in Europe! The poison gas weapons will come to Europe, primarily to the FRG. Certainly, there was opposition. Six NATO countries objected, and put their objections on record. The importance of that opposition should not be underrated. But there was no veto. That is surely a sign of the pressure the U.S. exerts on its partners.

But does it mean that NATO had no other option? One must be able to say no sometime. In that situation particularly the FRG had a great chance to do something against chemical weapons. The governments of the GDR and the CSSR submitted to the FRG a draft agreement on a chemical weapon-free zone in Europe. That is the document prepared by the SED and the SPD. The FRG Government might have done something with it, especially in view of Chancellor Kohl's talks with President Reagan in Tokyo. If one can believe reports on that, Kohl said that he was concerned about the U.S. chemical-weapons projects. Was that all? I do not want to exaggerate, but a leopard cannot change its spots. He might have told the Americans that he might reconsider their project later on, and that now is the time to negotiate to ensure that there will be no chemical weapons in Europe. The GDR-CSSR proposals would have been very helpful. They have been presented, as have the Soviet initiatives on nuclear and conventional weapons. If the West finds them imperfect, we must talk about it. The proposals are negotiating offers. But one should stop creating faits accomplis, whether they are nuclear explosions in Nevada or decisions in Brussels.

CHINESE DELEGATION TO DISCUSS MINING COOPERATION

LD282044 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1200 GMT 28 May 86

[Text] A Chinese delegation, led by the deputy minister for coal industry, is currently visiting the GDR. The guests will discuss further cooperation in the fields of open-cast mining equipment, coal processing, and gas production with GDR experts. In the course of their visit, they will acquaint themselves with the performance and technical standards of coal and energy sector combines, as well as those in heavy engineering and plant construction.

NATIONAL FRONT COUNCIL ISSUES ELECTION APPEAL

AU091357 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26-27 Apr 86 p 1

["Election Appeal of the National Council of the GDR National Front" -- capitalized passages printed in boldfaced print]

[Text] Dear citizens:

ON 8 JUNE 1986 WE ARE GOING TO ELECT THE GDR PEOPLE'S CHAMBER, THE BERLIN CITY COUNCIL, AND THE BEZIRK ASSEMBLIES. WE ARE GOING TO ELECT THE DEPUTIES OF OUR LOCAL ELECTED ASSEMBLIES; WOMEN, MEN AND YOUNG PEOPLE OF WHOM WE KNOW THAT THEY ARE WILLING TO DO EVERYTHING FOR THE INTERESTS OF THE CITIZENS, FOR THE WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE, FOR SOCIALISM, AND PEACE. WE GO TO THE ELECTIONS WITH PRIDE IN OUR ACHIEVEMENTS, AWARE OF OUR STRENGTH AND POSSIBILITIES, AND CERTAIN OF ONE THING: TOGETHER WE ARE ABLE TO SOLVE THE TASKS FACING US IN THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL FIELDS TO FURTHER SHAPE THE DEVELOPED SOCIALIST SOCIETY. TOGETHER WE WILL LIVE UP TO THE DEMANDS OF THE TIME. WE RENDER AN ACCOUNT FOR A LEGISLATIVE PERIOD IN WHICH -- THANKS TO THE CREATIVE WORK OF THE PEOPLE, THE WORKERS, PEASANTS, MEMBERS OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA, AND THE OTHER WORKING PEOPLE -- GREATER PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE THAN IN ANY OTHER COMPARABLE PERIOD BEFORE. WE HAVE MADE GOOD PROGRESS IN OUR COMMON WORK. WE ARE JUSTIFIED IN FEELING DEEP SATISFACTION ABOUT OUR ACHIEVEMENTS. IT WAS WORTHWHILE FOR EVERYBODY TO GIVE HIS BEST. THE 11TH SED PARTY CONGRESS DECIDED -- BASED ON THE IMPRESSIVE SOCIETAL BALANCE SHEET OF THE GDR -- TO CONSISTENTLY CONTINUE THE TESTED WAY IN THE FUTURE. ERICH HONECKER SPOKE ON BEHALF OF ALL THE PEOPLE WHEN HE SAID AT THE 11TH PARTY CONGRESS: WHAT WE ACHIEVED TOGETHER AFFIRMS OUR CERTAINTY THAT WE CAN TACKLE THE TASKS UNTIL 1990 AND BEYOND THAT UP TO THE YEAR 2000 FULL OF CONFIDENCE AND ELAN, AND WE WILL BE ABLE TO FULFILL THEM SUCCESSFULLY. IN THIS SPIRIT WE CONTINUE THE GREAT POPULAR DISCUSSION AND THE POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE OVERALL STRENGTHENING OF OUR SOCIALIST STATE. THIS REQUIRES THE ACHIEVEMENTS, IDEAS, EXPERIENCES, AND PROPOSALS OF US ALL.

Our Election Program Tells What Is in Our Interest

We, the parties and mass organizations cooperating in the GDR National Front, state: What the 11th SED Party Congress decided is our common cause!

THIS IS OUR ELECTION PROGRAM!

On 8 June 1986 we thus vote

-- For peace on earth and in space! For the policy of peaceful coexistence, for dialogue and beneficial cooperation between states!

-- For a dynamic performance growth in our national economy, for social security!

-- For the continuation of the policy for the welfare of the people, for the unity of economic and social policy!

-- For the further flourishing of our socialist fatherland, in which the interests of the citizens are the supreme principle of the policy!

-- For the consolidation of our fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union, and with all states of the socialist community!

-- For international solidarity with all those who are struggling against neocolonialism, imperialist threats, and interference, for democracy and social progress, for human dignity, and justice!

Our vote and our deeds for these goals! For more good years in our socialist homeland! For a development in the world that does not make all of mankind perish in the fires of a nuclear war but makes it live together peacefully!

Together We Achieved Great Things in Town and Countryside

We are looking back on a 5-year period in which the development of our Republic as a politically stable and economically efficient socialist state continued successfully; the achievements were increased and improved. The high targets of the 1981-1985 5-Year Plan were fulfilled. A national income of M1.087 billion was produced, 90 percent of which was gained by raising labor productivity. The best harvests to date were achieved. All citizens received increasing benefit from the high performances, the dedication of their collectives, and their own industrious work. Our people's standard of living is higher than ever before in history. Education, science, and culture have flourished. Our socialist way of life has developed in a more diversified way, characterized by rising peopole's wealth, social justice, exclusive and full democracy of the people in true freedom. The things worked for by the hands of the people are reliably protected.The following is of far-reaching importance: With our economic strategy it was possible to make production intensification the decisive basis of performance increase and to ensure the necessary economic growth. The introduction of key technologies opened the door to a considerable increase in labor productivity and national income. More and more, the world standard has become a yardstick of our own work. Science and production were interlaced more closely than ever before. We note with pleasure how the young generation is proving itself also in this focal point of socialist construction. What we achieved through often hard and dedicated work was a benefit to us all: greater means for the steady improvement of the material and cultural standard of living of the people and for the continuation of the largest social program in GDR history. In our country social protection and security are a matter of course -- in crass contradiction to unemployment, "new poverty," homelessness, and misery of many older people and fear of the future of millions of young people in capitalist countries. Socialist reality guarantees for all the opportunity to prove and develop their abilities.

The core of our social policy was and is housing construction. Since 1981 more than 3 million citizens moved into newly built or modernized apartments; considering the past 15 years the figure amoiunts to 7.2 million citizens. New districts were created. In the city centers, in well-known streets, on historically developed squares, buildings were modernized and constructed -- more beautiful than before. The face of Berlin is changing visibly. Towns and villages have become more attractive. The citizens themselves contributed much to this. At the end of the forthcoiming legislative period in 1990 and old goal of the revolutionary workers movement will have become reality in the GDR as the 11th SED Congress affirmed -- the solution of the housing problem as a social issue.Based on honest work and thousands of initiatives in town and countryside the citizens' real income increased considerably. Over the past few years it has been doubled. Prices for staple goods, for rents and rates have remained the same. The performances of trade, business, and service sector were purposefully promoted. Our particular concern went to mothers, working women, and our children. The number of places in nurseries and kindergartens has increased. All children in the appropriate age groups, whose parents wish it, can go to a kindergarten. The number of places in nurseries has also been considerably increased.

Our 10-grade general polytechnic secondary school gives a pratice-oriented education to all children of the people, and makes them capable of meeting the high requirements of our time. This is also the goal of our highly developed vocational training. New sociopolitical measures for pupils and students have come into force. The facilities for sports and recreation have been expanded.

Pensions have been increased for millions of veterans of work. The number of apartments for senior citizens was increased, social facilities for senior citizens were expanded. Health care for the citizens was further developed. The people took possession of cultural centers that have been reconstructed in new splendor, such as the Cewandhaus in Leipzig, the Semper Opera House in Dresden, the theater and the Friedrichstadt Place in Berlin, and of many other sites of intellectual-cultural life.

Everywhere in our country the citizens received with pleasure the joint decisions of the SED Central Committee, the FDGB National Executive Council, and the GDR Council of Ministers immediately after the 11th SED Congress to further improve the working and living conditions of families with children and to promote young couples. This is something that shows exactly what real socialism is. We can say: Citizens of all classes and strata, of different social position and origin, of different ideologies and religious creeds achieved great things for our socialist cause. All parties and mass organizations united in the GDR National Front have a share in this. Our people's political-moral unity is firmer than ever.

Thanks are due to our deputies. They have fulfilled their voters' mandate in a conscientious way and closely linked with the citizens.

For Life in Peace Today and in the Future

Nothing is more important for us than peace! We need it in order to implement the bold program adopted by the 11th SED Congress for the intellectual, economic, and social development of our people, for the welfare of our children and grandchildren. Therefore our vote goes to the active, world-wide renowned policy of peaceful coexistence of our state and its leading representatives. To live together in peace, to promote the policy of active dialogue and constructive cooperation in order to reduce the threat of war, together with all forces in the world that are ready to achieve an understanding and are willing to struggle for peace -- that is what we want! We will continue to do everything possible, as we have done so far, so that never again will war emanate from German soil, but only peace. Our full support goes to the comprehensive program submitted at the 27th CPSU Congress to free the world of all nuclear weapons by the year 2000, for effective steps toward arms limitation and disarmament, and for the creation of a system of international security. It offers a historic chance for a peaceful future of mankind that must not remain unused. It is a rousing appeal to world conscience to ward off the dangers of a nuclear inferno, to halt the arms race on earth and not to permit a militarization of space.

WE ARE WORKING FOR

-- A total ban on nuclear tests as a first step toward freeing the world of nuclear weapons;

-- Halting the deployment and bringing about the step-by-step dismantling of the nuclear systems already deployed in Europe;

-- The elimination of all intermediate-range missiles on our continent;

-- The reduction of conventional forces and armaments in Europe;

-- The creation of a nuclear and chemical weapons free zone;

-- The establishment of a zone free of nuclear battlefield weapons in central Europe;

-- A radical improvement of the internaltional situation and the reliable guarantee of the peoples' security.

The UN Peace Year 1986 is to be followed by years of peace for all coming generations.

All Our Strength, Our Thoughts, Our Deeds for Socialism

Our response to the decisions of the 11th SED Congress are new perfomances in the socialist competititon in industry and agriculture, in every field of societal life, in our towns and villages. The tasks are demanding. We will solve them better, the more every citizen contributes to his share, the more everybody contributes to working, planning, and governing. Important targets have been set for the period until 1990: Production of a national income of M13 billion, 90 percent of which is to be gained onece again by raising labor productivity. Our main field of struggle remains the unity of economic and social policy aimed at the welfare of all citizens.

WE WILL DO EVERYTHING for the further dynamic economic performance increase in our national economy on the way toward comprehensive production intensification, for the steady increase of the national income, mainly through higher labor productivity. We thus create the decisive preconditions for the further increase according to plan of the people's material and cultural standard of living.

WE WILL DO EVERYTHING for the further strengthening of the material-technical basis, for the tapping of domestic raw materials and their highest possible refinement, for the ever closer linking of the scientific-technological revolution with the advantages of socialism, and for the comprehensive utilization of most modern technology, in particular the key technologies. We consider the long-term programs of cooperation betweent he GDR and the USSR as well as the other socialist countries in the fields of science, technology, and production up to the year 2000 a decisive precondition for that.

WE WILL DO EVERYTHING for the shaping of our tested socialist planned economy, whose backbone are the combines, for the struggle for international top positions in science, technology, and production, for a wider range of high-quality consumer goods and all that which belongs to the 1000 little things important in daily life.

WE WILL DO EVERYTHING to make the "Beautify Our Towns and Villages -- Join In!" citizens movement take a further upswing. With this movement we want to make our homeland more attractive and comfortable in every respect.

The 11th SED Congress and its decisions have confirmed our experience: In our country economic and social progress are inseparable. Since the Eighth SED Congress we have already experienced during more than three legislative periods how real socialism, which we all have helped to shape, more and more effectively demonstrates its nature and its values and its international attractiveness. It is our firm conviction that this will continue to be so in the future with the help of everybody's work.

Our Trust Goes to the People's Candidates

The elections to the GDR People's Chamber, to the Berlin City Council, and the bezirk assemblies will again demonstrate the vitality of socialist democracy in our country. The candidates' examination in their work collectives, the accountability reports of the deputies to the citizens, the trusting meeting of the voters with their candidates guarantee that they really are the representatives of the people's interests. Together with the voters our deputies will implement the good policy of the party of the workers class and the socialist state in everyday life. Experience shows that wherever things are openly discussed and tackled together with the citizens, problems that can be solved are indeed solved and things that are not yet in order are put in order.

When the GDR citizens go to the ballot on 8 June their decision will be based on the avowal to the policy of the 11th SED Congress, the policy for the welfare of the people, and for safeguarding peace. When on 8 June we vote for the candidates of the GDR National Front in free, general, equal, and secret ballot, we know that they are citizens who feel close to their voters. They are candidates from all classes and strata who will dedicatedly represent our interests. They are people on whom we can rely in matters of everyday life and in matters of high policy. Proposed by the parties and mass organizations of the Democratic Bloc and united for the joint proposal by the GDR National Front, they are candidates we trust.

OUR VOTE FOR THESE CANDIDATES! FOR THE FURTHER FLOURISHING OF THE GDR, OUR SOCIALIST FATHERLAND! FOR SOCIALISM AND PEACE! VOTE FOR THE NATIOINAL FRONT CANDIDATES ON 8 JUNE!

Berlin, 25 April 1986

SINDERMANN INTERVIEWED ON UPCOMING ELECTIONS

DW271212 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 23 May 86

[Interview with Horst Sindermann, GDR People's Chamber president and SED Central Committee Politburo member, by correspondent Aflred Eichhorn and oither unidentified journalists; date and place not given -- recorded]

[Text] [Eichhorn] Godd evening, dear listeners. We may well say that the preparations for the elections have now reached their decisive stage. I am happy to welcome Horst Sindermann, People's Chamber president and SED Central Committee Politburo member. Comrade Sindermann, I am sure you have had a hard time in recent weeks.

[Sindermann] All of us have.

[Eichhorn] Whom did you meet in the past days?

[Sindermann] In the past days I presented myself as a candidate of Halle Bezirk. I have been top candidate of Halle and Halle-Neustadt for many years. We shoiuld mentioin that the preparations for the elections have reached a very high level. The people not only agree to the National Front candidates or to our party policy in general, but they also -- and that is a characteristic feature -- make many commitments for the elections. Such commitments are made by collectives in industry and agriculture.

Following the 11th SED Congress the commitments this year are aimed at the intensification of the economy: In other words, the introduciton of modern technologies, robot technologies, compuer technologies, and other important fields of economic intensification. On the other hand, our citizens are aware that elections in the GDR are no mere formality and that participating in them means exercising power. It is our principle that all citizens share state pwer. In preparing for the elections, they ahve a say in the GDR's future development, in particular through the intensification of production and the unity of eocnomic and social policy. That is firmly rooted and expressed in all the commitments for the elections, also in Halle Bezirk. [passage indistinct]

[Unidentified correspondent] As you just said, your constituency is Halle on Saale, a traditional worker class area. You also have personal relations with Halle. How do you view the city and the bezirk today?

[Sindermann] Halle is an area of industrial concentration. However, under capitalism industry created very backward conditions for the people. For example, there was the so-called backpack proletarian who came from a village to work in a large factory. All that belongs to the past. In the past 5 years, 98,000 apartments were built or renovated and modernized. More specifically, 60,000 apartments were newly built. That alone is worth being praised. However, I think it is much more important that the living space per capita increased from 19.9 square meters to 26.3 square meters during that period. Thus the quality of the apartments has improved. Or, let us take an important example which plays a large role in such an area of industrial concentration.

In capitalism, building was cheap. There were no or only very few lavatories in the apartments. Early in 1970, roughly 30 percent of the apartments in the bezirk had lavatories. Now about 70 percent of the apartments have lavatories, bathrooms, and hot water. Those are the qualitative factors of our social policy. They also show what we mean by resolving the housing problem as a social problem.

[Correspondent] [Words indistinct] Our economic policy is not an end in itself but serves the people. Striking a balance between our economic and social policy, what social achievements of the past years could we point out?

[Sindermann] Our social policy is a large field. Let me say something about it as People's Chamber deputy. Every year, we decide on the economic plan and the state budget, and they express our social policy and the unity of the economic and social policy. Take our 1986 state budget, for example. Regarding the distribution of the national income, we consider the growing satisfaction of the people's needs as very important. For us to earmark M46 billion for subsidizing prices means that M46 billion are not spent by the people. In addition, we spend more on housing construction every year than on national defense. That is a huge achievement of our socialist state, because our policy is really focused on man, his needs, his quality of life, and his wellbeing. We spend M15 billion on housing constructon, M8 billion for public education, M3 billion for university and technical school affairs, and so forth. Those are the most important figures that constitute the social nature of our ecnomic policy.

[Correspondent] Will there be no red-pencil policy in the future like in capitalism?

[Sindermann] No, we decided at the 11th party congress that we will continue the unity of economic and social policy [words indistinct] Owing to the technical-scientific revolution and its absorption by socialism or the intensification of our economy, the national income is growing every year.

We predict a 4 and 1/2 or 5 percent growth rate. That means that expenditures for the factors I just mentiond -- price supporting, public education, and so on -- will grow equally.

[Correspondent] You spoke of the economic plan which is a law. Mr Sindermann, reviewing the past legislative period, what were the most important affairs dealt with by the People's Chamber as a legislative body?

[Sindermann] More than 50 laws were passed. Let me mention just two which are characteristic of our legislation. First, the law on the social courts -- the arbitration commissions in residential areas and the conflict commissions in factories. That constitutes part of the exercise of power by the people. This field is not the ordinary courts' business, but [words indistinct] residential area commissions and of trade unions which administer justice in the case of conflicts. It is a huge field. Some 160,000 people work in the social courts. They take part in the work of the state and they practicaly take part in governing in an important field of state power such as justice.

Second, there is the law on local people's representatives. I attach great importance to that law, because it is of crucial importance for our communal policy and the extension of our socialist democracy. The law defines the competencies of the state authorities in the municipalitis, cities, and kreise as well as their repsonsiblity for the situation in their areas. They can cooperate with factoreis, industrial enterprises, agricultural production coopratives, and craftsmen's shops, and they must include all organizations in the decision-making process of the people's represntation.

[Words indistinct] Putting it briefly, we wanted the elected organs and the mayors approved by the elected organs to have responsibility and more authority to allow them to put things in order and to make them strive for higher goals. What matters is housing constructon in villages, day care centers, kindergartens, the supply of the vegetables, for instance. Why should vegetables be transported from a city to a village where they can be produced thrugh individual production? Naturally, the agricultural production cooperatives have to supply the cities with vegetables. However, the complicated way of distribution should be rationalized by creating many other possibilities in the village proper. The point is to produce construction materials, gravel pits, sand pits, and many possibilities of doing things individually which otherwise are organized by the authorities. We were in Erfurt, [word indistinct] and Eisleben where new [word indistinct] have been created. That was done at the people's own initiative and was not connected with large investments. They asked themselves whether they should include those projects in the investment plans or whether they should implement them immediately.

[Correspondent] They implemented them immediately.

[Sindermann] Yes, they must implement them immediately. Naturally we must sometimes help them. However, they have many capacities in agricultural production. We have to encourage that, and we did in Erfurt and other bezirkes where fruit is cultivated. That is one of the methods, and there are thousands of possibilities that we want to use, in particular, in cooperation with the enterprises of the territory and with the organizations.

[Correspondent] Comrade Sindermann, you have told us realistic stories that are based on legislation. You mentioned in particular the law on local people's representations which was passed by the People's Chamber. The laws are the result of a democratic process. In what way do the People's Chamber commissons participate in the formulation and enforcement of the laws?

[Sindermann] (?Let me explain) that by the economic plan and the state budget which are decided every year. A great many people work on such laws. First of all, the trade unions, which represent about 3 and 1/2 million members, have to decide on the factory plans before they can be approved and are incorporated in the general economic plan. On the other hand, the People's Chamber commissions take part in working on those laws -- for example, the Commission for Industries, Construction, and Transports, which is headed by Comrade Dr Guenter Mittag, SED Central Committee Politburo member. Those commissions also make studies and analyze specific fields. Their members have to utilize the practice and are authorized to make decisions. They use the People's Chamber work groups and commissions to take part in drafting the economic plans -- mainly by contributing detailed analyses -- and also are very active in controlling the implementation of the laws. Let me mention just one commission, the youth commision, which is very active and deals with the over 40,000 youth brigades in industry and agriculture to make sure they all cooperate in the science and technology plan. Young people today are very educated, they understand a lot about electronics and robot technology -- more than the older generation, as a matter of fact. If we do not challenge them to actively take part in the process of the scientific-technological revolution, we will not only lose an economic potential but we also will not have reached our educational goal for our young people. The youth wants to work, to be active, to create new things, and it wants to be better than the older generation -- not in the negative sense of a generation gap. If we encourage that, we will profit from it. We have an standardized educational system, ranging from kindergarten to the school, the university, and the technical school. In controlling the implementation of the laws we have to keep in mind that this must be adhered to.

Unlike in capitalist countries, we do not have the problem of unemployment of apprentices. We have to deal with the problem of giving them the job which serves their abilities best of all. In that respect, our FDJ is doing a great job, and it is highly committed in this field.

[Correspondent] I would like to discuss another field of the People's Chamber's work -- international politics, which plays a substantial role here. For what and in what way does the People's Chamber use its great international prestige and authority in the international arena?

[Sindermann] The task that the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th party congresses have set for us is the fact that a policy of dialogue and understanding must be pursued against the policy of confrontation. Therefore, we have always viewed contacts with other parliaments as an important foreign policy task. In the bourgeois parliaments of capitalist states, for example, all parties, and all sections of the population are represented with which we want to establish contacts. Naturally they hold many discussions and have many wrong ideas and prejudices regarding socialism and even anticommunist nonsense. But that is how the world is. We have to accept it as it is. However, we must exert an influence and make sure that the ideas of peaceful coexistence and cooperation between people be taken into account. In addition, the fact must be considered that there is no alternaitve to peaceful coexistance, because every policy of intensified armament threatens to lead to nuclear inferno. There is only the possibility of common action, without the differences being blurred or the intellectual and social differences or the class position being abandoned.

Cooperation between our People's Chamber and many parliaments has become a tradition. It also is interesting to hear the opinion of politicians in the Japanese parliament, for instance. The high respect our people and state enjoy in Japan is attributable to the fact that we pursue such an active policy in the center of Europe, on the line between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. A policy of peaceful coexistence and cooperation always is approved by all parties in the Japanese parliament.

You know that last year I visited China. It was very interesting. One of the results of my visit is that they now send a delegation to the GDR to study our laws, not only regarding their content but also the way in which they come about. We had very productive talks on very productive cooperation there. They have shown that the PRC and the GDR hold similar views in the economic and other fields and recently also in legislation or, in other words, the exercise of power.

Furthermore, there is our international cooperation in the Interparliamentary Union which is a bourgeois parliament to which every parliament of the world sends its representatives. What matters to us is repeatedly discussing there our problems of peace, disarmament, and the elimination of the policy of confrontation. I must say, the socialist states have become increasingly successful in that respect. The IPU's work is largely marked by the discussion of proposals submitted by the socialist countries. In that forum we also have contacts with many parliamentary parties of capitalist bourgeois states. Another great task there is our cooperation with the parliaments of developing countries. Those countries share our position on many international issues.

Let me just mention the six statesmen of four continents and the nonaligned conferences in New Delhi and Havana. The decisions and statements made there are backed by us. We support their initiatives, and that allows us to introduce our policy into those countries parliaments in the scope of the IPU. I think that is a very important international activity.

[Correspondent] You had visitors from Finland recently.

[Sindermann] Yes, members of the Social Democratic Party which is at present the governing party in Finland. Our party has close and fruitful relations with that party. The most important problem for them is to create a nuclear-free zone in Scandinavia.

We also discussed with them the creation of a zone free of chemical weapons in central Europe and a zone free of theater nuclear weapons. We said that the social democratic parties play an important role in that respect. They were highly interested in our talks with the Social Democratic Party in the Federal Republic, and they naturally support them. Of course, we also have an interest in certain nuances of a political statement. They view many things from their own standpoint, and that is absolutely natural. They also have an interest in hearing our opinion.

Of course, I should say one thing: How about the relations of our SED faction in the people's Chamber with the SPD faction in the Federal Republic or the Social Democratic faction in Denmark or the Netherlands? Does it mean that there are no differences of opinion between us or that ideologies do not exist any longer? Of course not. We make no conditions for our cooperation. We communists have our standpoint, and the social democrats have their standpoint. They have their own stance on NATO, we have our stance on the Warsaw Pact. We do not make it a condition for them to leave NATO, just as they do not make it a condition for us to leave the Warsaw Pact, because that would not lead to cooperation. We are looking for the points where our positions are identical. Interesting enough, that holds true for the main issues in international politics.

They support Gorbachev's proposals on the halt of nuclear arms tests. They support the gradual reduction and ultimate destruction of all nuclear weapons by the year 2000. Regarding just Europe, cooperation between the social democratic and socialist parties in West Europe and our parties in the scope of the Warsaw Pact constitutes a huge potential. It is the majority of the European people who cooperate in those main issues.

That is one field of interest in the GDR. There are other fields of interest in the GDR. As small as we are as a state, as interesting we are for many people, because certain problems have been resolved here which have not been resolved elsewhere, for example the unemployment problem or the problem of unemployed young people. How do we manage to set free more than 300,000 people by rationalization every year, and yet have no unemployed? Or, regarding our state budget, how is it possible for us to spend so much money on social affairs? We will gradually be able to distribute the national income according to social aspects and orientate ourselves to the unity of economic and social policy.

It must be added that there are many prejudices and many wrong ideas of the GDR. They are known: Human rights are violated here, and people want to know whether the workers realy have a say, whether free democracy is not a great advantage, and whether our parliament is really a parliament, because we do not have equally controversial discussions as in bourgeois parliaments.

They have all those questions and why should we not answer them? I have always told them: You know I do not care how much people talk inparliament but in my view the point is whether the parliament can guarantee a society without unemployment in the future; whether it can guarantee a job or studies; whether we can improve the requirements of working women with children; and whether we can increase old-age pensions. Is it such a bad democracy if we are doing all that? I do not judge whether we are better than they; let them judge that themselves. I do not argue with them. However, we really resolve problems that cannot be resolved by other parliaments. In that respct we are superior. I think you are always wiser after rather than before a discussion. That also holds true for visits to the GDR. That is the general impression I have of the many visitors we have had here.

[Eichhorn] The forthcoming elections on 8 June are the reason why we invited Horst Sindermann, People's Chamber presdient and Politburo member, to join our round of journalists. Mr Sindermann, it was nice to see you here. Permit us to look ahead. Election day -- 8 June. How will things continue following the elections? What do you expect regarding the work of the newly elected people's representations? What highlights will there be in the People's Chamber's work?

[Sindermann] Well, first of all we will have to constitute ourselves after we have been elected. That is a formality. Then real work begins. We will have to concretely draw up the plan up to 1990 which was outlined by our party congress. Then we will have to adopt a number of new laws on the role and status of the new faction, he Association of Peasants' Mutual Aid, as well as on their work and prospects. We will also have to deal with new problems that will emerge in the technological-scientific revolution. A growing number of people will have to be trained in operating electronic data processing or control devices. Those are serious problems, because our production is increasing, and we need experts in that field. Our party congress set those goals, and we are looking forward to that work, because it becomes more and more interesting. Whatever we decide, it must serve man and his wellbeing. [passage indistinct]

[Eichhorn] Thank you very much for meeting us.

OPZZ LEADERS ASSESS JOINT CONFERENCE WITH USSR

AU111023 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Apr 86 pp 1, 2

[Report signed 'Teg': "The Qualities and Need for Broader Cooperation"]

[Text] The meetings in factories, talks with workers at their posts, and discussions within trade union bodies have supplied many positive conclusions and new proposals that will enrich and expand trade union cooperation.

This is a concise assessment of the first ever Soviet trade Unions days. This assessment was shared at a 26 April press conference by representatives of the OPZZ leadership on the one hand and delegation of Soviet trade unionists, headed by Kazimeras Matskyavichius, secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, on the other.

Opening the conference, Romuald Sosnowski, OPZZ deputy chairman, said: "The week that has passed was full of business-like talks not only about achievements and satisfactory matters, but also about the joint troubles which trade unionists must face. Of importance both to us and to Soviet trade unionists are problems of housing construction, a more rapid satisfaction of social needs, a greater variety of recreational possibilities for working people, and education and culture for workers.

"That is why during the sharing of our experience and during talks on the subject of the future we have referred so often to broader trade union involvement in the economic sphere and to the development of new forms of labor competition. And although there were many talks, there was still not enough of them. The talks were continued inside the buses, and people used every spare moment inside their factories to share their own opinions."

During the press conference there was also time for the following thought: We are bound by the same ideas and goals, but nothing will take the place of direct, lively contacts between people. The Soviet trade union days gave many such opportunities both to the Polish trade unionists and to the over 100-strong Soviet delegation, which consisted not only of representativesof the center but also many branch, regional, and factory trade unions. There was therefore no shortage of opportunities to compare notes and exchange views on common topics.

Kazimeras Matskyavichius, secretary of the all-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and delegate to the 27th CPSU Congress, said that these common topics certainly include housing construction. He spoke on how Soviet trade unionists approach this issue and how they view their role in implementing the program, defined at the CPSU congress, whereby every family in the USSR will have its own apartment by the year 2000. This, he said, is an example of how the congress resolutions are affecting issues which also possess priority importance for trade unionists. Therefore we must impart greater "impetus" to our own activity and make it more effective, as far as a sparing use of materials, the quality of production, and productivity are concerned, and we must combine this work with our efforts concerning labor competition and wage policy. Increasing work discipline and creating a broad front of battle against negative phenomena is just a fraction of the tasks facing us.

The Soviet guests concluded that the Soviet trade union days have helped us to get to know each other better, to the advantage of both sides. They have enriched the experience so far and supplemented it with a package of new conclusions and proposals that should encourage the expansion of cooperation and the establishment of new contacts, especially between factories. Spheres were pointed out where greater and better joint trade union action is possible.

Prior to the 1 May holiday, the trade unionists expressed best wishes to the working people of Poland and the USSR.

PRC RAILWAYS MINISTER MEETS TRANSPORT MINISTER

LD232159 Warsaw PAP in English 2110 GMT 23 May 86

[Text] Warsaw, May 31: The visiting minister of railways of the People's Republic of China Ding Guangen met Polish Transport Minister Janusz Kaminski. The two exchanged views on bilateral scientific-technological and economic cooperation and on both countries' cooperation within the framework of the international organization for cooperation of railways. In view of the growing volume of trade exchange between the two countries the Polish side put forth a proposal to start transportation of some goods between Poland and China by rail. The sides agreed upon the conditions of an exchange of experts and specified equipment which in the immediate future could be a subject to mutual supplies.

The Chinese guest visited port and railway facilities in various areas of the country. The sides agreed upon the establishment of direct cooperation between the Silesian railway district and the railway district in Harbin.

Ends Visit 26 May

LD262215 Warsaw PAP in English 1909 GMT 26 May 86

[Text] Warsaw, May 26: Polish railways intend to buy complete equipment for a switch yard from People's China. There are also plans to purchase equipment necessary for railway stock repairs as well as Chinese radio-telephones. On the other hand, the Chinese side is also interested in Polish railway equipment. Those plans result from the Polish visit of the Chinese Minister of Railways Ding Guangeng which ended here today. During the talks with Polish Minister of Transport Janusz Kaminski both sides outlined the programme of further cooperation of both railways. They deemed it necessary to hold a joint seminar next year to exchange mutual experiences in the organization of coal railway transport. Both sides also decided to widen cooperation of railway research institutes both in Beijing and in Warsaw.

POLITBURO SAYS CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO MEET 7 JUNE

LD282136 Warsaw PAP in English 2031 GMT 28 May 86

[Text] Warsaw, May 28; The PUWP CC Political Bureau met here today to review reports on the implementation of resultions of the 9th extraordinary PUWP congress prepared by the congress commission. The bureau acquainted itself with and took a stand on an amended version of "the PUWP Programme" which takes into account opinions and motions submitted by party members and people of no party affiliation in the course of discussions on this document.

The Political Bureau also acquainted itself with information on the working, friendly visit paid to Poland by the bureau decided to convene the 26th plenary session of the POWP Central Committee on June 7. Secretary General of the Communist Party of Czechosolovakia CC and Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak, and fully approved of the results of the visit presented in a joint communique.

SEJM DISCUSSES YOUTH, EDUCATION, UNIONS 22 MAY

LD230255 Warsaw PAP in English 2310 GMT 22 May 86

[Text] Warsaw, May 22 -- The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic got together here today. Present at the meeting were W. Jaruzelski and Z. Messner. The first point of the meeting agenda envisaged a government report on the basic problems of education. Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski, who chaired the first part of the debates, allowed the education minister, Joanna Michalaowska-Gumowska, to take the floor on this subject. Next, Youth Minister Aleksander Kwasniewski presented a government report on the conditions for the life and professional start up of youth. Taking the floor on behalf of the Sejm extraordinary committee, Deputy Elzbieta Gacek (PUWP) presented a report on a draft law on the principles of youth's participation in the state, social, economic and cultural life. All these problems, concerning various aspects of the young generation's problems were put to Sejm discussion.

Deputy Czeslaw Dabrowski (no party) said it was necessary to review a proposal to establish a social council for national education. Deputy Ryszard Bender (no party) inquired the education minister about the instruction issued March last, concerning the organization of education in the school year 1986/87. The instruction mentioned the necessity to counter the ideologically alien influence at schools, as well as to respect the principle of school secularity and of shaping a world outlook based on scientific premises in everyday practice. In connection with the above, the deputy asked what exactly the ministry meant as ideologically alien influence, and whether the expression encompassed Christian outlook. Deputy Antonina Dziuban (PUWP) noted that the fundamental, constitutional principle of the separation between state and church in Poland and of school secularity stemming from this fact should be fully respected by everyone. The Roman-Catholic Church and other denominations are not hindered by anyone in disseminating their outlook at appropriate places. The deputy also noted that the attempts to clericalize our life, evident in the persistent activities aimed at holding religious rites within the grounds of state educational institutions must be considered incompatible with Constitution and the principle of tolerance generally respected by all civilized societies. "Polish schools cannot be accused of lack of tolerance, like some people, the previous speaker for instance, suggest," she said.

Deputy Kazimierz Pilat (PUWP) noted that two problems assumed dramatic proportions in education: The underdevelopment of base and the staff deficiencies. In reply to Deputy Bender's question, Minister Michalowska-Gumowska noted that the school, according to an appropriate article of Sejm law on the development of education system, was appointed to educate and shape the students basing on contemporary scientific discoveries. The Constitution places the issue of religious views in the sphere of private decisions, personal beliefs. Extraschool instititutions are responsible for this sphere of activities. "As ideologically alien to school practice we consider all that is harmful to the system we live in, all that strikes a blow at the Polish raison d'etat -- at the vital interests of our nation and state," said the minister. "As alien we also consider all that is contrary to the principles of moral health." Deputy Sejm speaker, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski summed up this part of the debates.

The Sejm approved of the government report on the basic problems of education and the conclusions contained in it. The Sejm also accepted the report on the conditions of the life and profession start-up of youth, indicating the necessity to elaborate a comprehensive programme concerning youth, with the new legal regulations in this field taken into account and based on a deeper analysis of the young generation's situation. The Sejm adopted a law on the principles of youth's participation in the state, social, economic and cultural life with 3 votes against and 34 abstentions.

The next point of the session agenda envisaged the first reading of a draft law on the organization and financing of social welfare presented by the minister of labour, wages and social affairs, Stanislaw Gebala. Chairman of this part of the debates, Deputy Sejm Speaker Jerzy Ozdowski, welcomed a delegation of the Chamber of Deputies of the Argentine Republic, which came to the Sejm, visiting Poland since Thursday. The debate chairman expressed his satisfaction with the animation of contacts between the Sejm and the Argentine parliament, between our nations. He also expressed his belief that the official visit of the Argentine parliamentary delegation, as well as the talks and meetings held on this occasion will contribute to the widening of Polish-Argentine cooperation in all fields.

Deputy Wlodzimierz Koczur (PUWP) stressed that the trade union movement assumed a positive attitude towards the proposal to amend the law. He expressed his satisfaction with the fact of meeting a postulate concerning the majority share of trade union representatives in the boards of directors. The draft law, however, does not fully satisfy the trade union movement, he said. Minister Gebala addressed himself to the questions filed by the deputies in the course of the debates. He noted, among other things, that the draft law was fully consulted with the national agreement on trade unions (OPZZ). During the final part of the debates, the Sejm listened to the answers to the deputies questions concerning the problems of housing construction and some engineering industry products.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMPLAINTS COMMISSION VIEWED

AU111021 Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 9 Apr 86 pp 3, 5

[Interview with Albin Siwak, PZPR Politburo member, by Krystyna Kostrzewa: "When Wrongs Occur, When People Are Troubled"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Kostrzewa] Comrade, you are chairman of the PZPR Central Committee Suggestions and Complaints Commission. It is this post and your experiences in it that I would like to discuss during our conversation.

[Siwak] I would be happy to discuss my work at the commission: I consider these matters to be of great importance for me.

[Kostrzewa] How effective is the work of the Suggestions and Complaints Commission? I am primarily interested in whether and how the matters which come to the attention of the commission serve to effect an improvement in the quality of work performed by the administration and other services which exist to serve the population. Do these matters perform a preventive role?

[Siwak] It can be said that a tangible improvement is occurring in the work of many central and voivodship administrative cells. That was the verdict of the Central Committee Politburo. Decisions taken by the party and government leadership have led to the emergence of greater opportunities for citizens to communicate with the management of enterprise, offices, and institutions. A code of state employees' rights and duties has come into being. State organs are undertaking activities aimed at creating a climate of respect for citizens affairs and the system for settling people's affairs continues to be improved. Are we satisfied with this? No, this process must be speeded up.

Matters that people bring to the attention of the party and Central Committee are being dealt with more and more effectively, and this is in spite of various difficulties.

In addition to this, a kind and helpful attitude, thoroughness in examining every matter, and discussion with the citizen concerned mean that regardless of the final result -- and for objective reasons this really cannot always be the desired result in the eyes of the concerned party -- the citizen accepts and understands the final judgement. Frequently we advise the citizen about further steps he can take, about how he can try to solve a difficult matter himself.

[Kostrzewa] But people do not only write letters about purely personal matters, they no doubt make observations of a rather general kind...

[Siwak] That is right, they frequently do. People express views on a great variety of matters: They inform us about poor work organization, waste of materials, low productivity, the abuse of authority, incorrect attitudes and incompetence on the part of management cadre, arbitrariness in the implementation of the economic reform, the existence of cliques, harmful arrangements, and cases of exploitation. They express opinions on the standard of living, social justice, and the conduct of socioeconomic policy. These letter-writers are people from all social classes and strata, people from all age groups. In general, such letters express a profound concern for Polish society, its state of awareness, and the socialist future of the state. These letters categorically condemn negative attitudes, indifference, and passivity. We also learn from these letters about discrepancies between, on the one hand, the intentions of the leadership of the party and government and Central Committee plenary session resolutions and, on the other, the realization of those intentions and resolutions. These are valuable opinions.

[Siwak] I realize that this struggle is a difficult and long-term process. Thus we need to strive to ensure that the process -- which commenced with decisions taken at the Ninth PZPR Congress and was then continued by the resolution adopted at the ninth plenum -- of dealing with and sorting out citizens' complaints and suggestions becomes a permanent feature of party activity and is not a brief campaign. This must be true of the period that will follow the 10th congress. This is the only way in which we can strengthen the party's bond with society, which is a fundamental principle of the Leninist norms of party life.

MOKRZYSZCZAK LEADS DISCUSSION OF PARTY STATUTES

LD241422 Warsaw PAP in English 1350 GMT 24 May 86

[Text] Warsaw, May 24: Presidium of the Congress Commission Team for reviewing and drafting proposals concerning supplements and amendments in the PUWP statute met here today. The debates were chaired by PUWP CC Political Bureau Alternate Member Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak. Basing on the provisions of the commission's team of May 14, Presidium analysed and adopted draft detailed proposals of supplements and amendments in the PUWP statute. The Presidium decided to submit the adopted draft version for subsequent debates of the team to meet on May 30. The meeting was also attended by CC Political Bureau Alternate Member Czeslaw Kiszczak and Chairman of the PUWP Central Control Commission Jerzy Urbanski.

POLITBURO MEMBER ON PARTY PROGRAM ROLE OF WEST

AU111005 Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 23 Apr 86 pp 3, 4

[Interview given by PZPR Politburo member Zofia Grzyb to Andrzej Wisniewski: "A Source of Optimism" -- date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Wisniewski] The problems of the workers class continue to be prominent in the precongress discussion. The memorable 16th Central Committee plenum took place almost 2 years ago. How far has the passage of time confirmed the importance of this plenum?

[Grzyb] I think that the importance of this plenum has been fully confirmed by the passage of time. I would even say that the long-term significance of this plenum continues to be demonstrated by the passage of time with increasing clarity. The 16th plenum amounted to a talk between the party and the workers. This talk is still continuing and devloping without break. The congress campaign has provided new incentives for it.

[Wisniewski] The issue of the value of work is one of the central issues of the 16th plenum, the party draft program, and the congress these and represents an aspect of our ethics. Do you think the workers will support the party's program for a broad moral renewal?

[Grzyb] This program can win a tremendous support from the workers and the people, most of whom are morally sound and civically mature as attested to by the slogan: "Socialism -- Yes, Distortions -- No."

[Wisniewski] Can you tell us on the strength of your own observations how the poeple, especially the workers, continue to accept the party draft program?

[Grzyb] As for my impressions of the meetings I attend and the individual talks I have, the party draft program certainly continues to be accepted by the people, who see in it a chance for improvements. Some people seem disappointed that the program is not as extensive as they had hoped it would be. People would like to see greater improvements in our living standards and to have their dreams realized, but such dreams often amount to hoping for an economic miracle. However, when we talk to people and tell them that the program does not promise a "second Poland" or a "second Japan," that we do not make any unrealistic promises, that we want to improve the country as it is now, better, and that the program promises "that much" and no more, people agree with us, accept the program, and subscribe to our thinking.

However, we are aware that we need a wise economic education and an education in history, jurisprudence, and sociology. I have the young people especially in mind, and many of them know very little ablut the conditions under which we had to work immediately after the war and many of them are unable to see present reality. They are aware of only Western luxuries and know nothing about Western slums. What particularly disturbs me is that some young people are interested only in making money and in attaining a luxurious style of living regardless of cost. I am disturbed by the fact that some young people are interested primarily in individual consumption and pay little attention to collective consumption, one aspect of which is, say, the theater. Such philosophy makes it easy to overlook the essence of socialist achievements, one of which is to ensure work for everyone and to enable everyone to study.

I must admit that the discussions on the party draft program are not easy and that those on the congress theses are easier because the theses are more specific and conern the enterprises directly. That people tend to be specific in their discussions is a valuable feature. They are specific not only in the economic or material meaning. Let me cite a worker at one of my meetings: "The average Pole want to believe that the draft program will bring about progress. He also wants to know who will be responsible for the failure of the program." Developing this idea, this worker said that we often listen to grassroots criticsim and agree with it, but do nothing to change the state of affairs and that this is also true of the higher authorities.

[Wisniewski] It would be interesting to know whether you tell the Politburo about such happenings.

[Gryzb] The comrades in the Politburo are well aware of people's views, opinions, and worries. That is why Comrade Jaruzelski often speaks of the need to consistently implement the decisions once made. As for your question, we four workers in the Politburo do quote all the views of our co-workers, among whom we work every day. We quote them unvarnished and without any embellishments. We quote them with full candor. Let me add that Comrade Jaruzelski is most interested in our views and always consults us about our stand on every issue.

MESSNER INTERVIEWED ON 'PROBLEMS' OF SILESIA

LD231333 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 23 May 86

[Text] Jerzy (Mieniec) has interviewed Zbigniew Messner, party Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, in TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA. The interview is entitled "Bold Concepts Demand Breaking Down Barriers." Zbigniew Messner will be running for a delegate's mandate to the 10th party congress on behalf of the Katowice party organization.

The premier speaks of the most important problems of the Silesian region and of permanent contacts with other regions of the country. What is also important is to have one's own assessment of moods, expectations, hopes and fears of working people, Zbigniew Messner says. Replying to a question concerning changes in decisions already taken by the government, the premier says among other things. Of course, I can bring about changes in the decision of a minister in a case where it turns out to be contrary to the law or against the public interests. For example, I recently requested another study of the social consequences of an order made by the minister of communciations regarding car transportation, influenced, among other things, by signals coming from the country. It was modified and adapted, to a greater degree, to economic realities. In my own work, however, I, place greater emphasis upon the careful preparation of government and ministerial decisions than upon activity after the event. I do not have to explain that, for example, our investment, debt, housing and econological problems did not begin today and cannot be solved in the space of a few months. They demand consistency and persistent activity over a long period. And, as a government, this is what we are doing, Zbigniew Messner concludes.

BRIEFS

HEALTH PROTOCOL WITH BULGARIA -- Sofia -- A plan for cooperation was signed with the Bulgarian Ministry of Health in the area of health protection and medical sciences for 1986-90 at the end of the visit by a delegation of the Polish Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 11 May 86]

RCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM RESOLUTION 2 APR

AU110500 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Apr 86 pp 1, 4

["Resolution of the 1-2 April 1986 RCP Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] On 1-2 April 1986 RCP Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu chaired a plenum of the RCP Central Committee.

The plenum highly values Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech, a document of outstanding importance, which makes a thorough and profoundly scientific analysis, permeated by an exemplary party and revolutionary exactingness, of work carried out and results attained last year and in the 1981-85 period, as well as of steps required to raise all activity to a higher level of quality and efficiency and to fully attain the country's socioeconomic development plans and programs and the 13th RCP Congress' historic goals.

In full unanimity, the plenum decides that the orientations, recommendations, and tasks included in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech should constitute the foundation of the entire activity of party bodies and organizations, socioeconomic units, and all the people with a view to commendably fulfilling the plan for this year and the entire 5-year plan and implementing the party's policy for the country's socioeconomic development in the coming period.

On this occasion the plenum again emphasizes Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's essential role and decisive contribution to the formulating and implementation of the entire domestic and foreign party-state policy and his constant concern with creatively and scientifically resolving the problems raised by the current stage of our fatherland's comprehensive development, ensuring the country's ceaseless progress, further raising all the people's material and cultural living standard, and uniting and broadly mobilizing the entire nation's energy and creative power in the historic work of building socialism and communism in Romania.

With highest sentiments of gratitude the plenum points out that the outstanding achievements attained last year and in the 1981-85 5-Year Plan -- achievements which further strengthen the country's economic power -- are the direct result of the activity carried out by the working people and the entire nation, under the leadership of the party, as well as the outcome of the steady development registered by Romania in the years of socialist construction, particularly in the period which has elapsed since the ninth congress. At that time the supreme position of party secretary general was entrusted to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, outstanding revolutionary militant and ardent patriot, under whose wise leadership the Romanian people have obtained the greatest achievements in their multimillenia-old existence by carrying out a vast activity for a radical and profound change of the entire society.

1. Examining and unanimously approving the report on the accountability analysis of results attained in the entire national economy and on the formation and utilization of financial resources in 1985, the RCP Central Committee plenum decides the following:

The activity of party bodies and organizations, ministries, central departments, enterprises, and all working people should firmly focus on expediently implementing the progress and the plan for the country's economic development this year and during the entire 5-year plan and attaining a new and higher quality of all the people's work and life.

Industry, which is a basic element of the steady progress of the national economy, will attain this year and throughout the 5-year plan a yearly growth rate of about 7 percent by laying further emphasis on extending the raw materials and energy base, making better use of resources, raising the technical and qualitative level of products, reducing material consumption, and increasing labor productivity and economic efficiency. Agricultural output will develop during the current 5-year plan at an annual average rate of 5-6 percent, thus increasing its contribution to better satisfying the people's consumption requirements, supplying the industry with raw materials, and meeting other requirements of the country.

A decisive role in promoting the country's socioeconomic development is played by the greater contribution of science, technology, and technical progress in all fields of activity, in accordance with programs drafted under the direct leadership of Comrade Elena Ceausescu, first deputy prime minister of the government and chairman of the National Council for Science and Education.

On the basis of the development of the forces of production and the country's greater economic strength, we will further increase the national income and wealth and the entire nation's material and intellectual well-being, will elevate Romania to new peaks of progress and civilization, and will strengthen the independence and sovereignty of the fatherland.

The plenum estimates that the results attained in 1985 and the previous 5-year plan strongly reconfirm the correctness of our party-state policy, which is in full accordance with the working people's interests and aspirations for progress and well-being and relies on the creative application of the generally valid principles of the truths of scientific socialism to concrete conditions prevailing in Romania. These results are telling proof of the force and political-organizational capacity of our glorious Communist Party to clearsightedly lead the destiny of the fatherland and nation along the road of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and the most just and humane society -- communism.

The Central Committee plenum stresses that the achievements attained by our country in 1985 and the entire 5-year plan clearly prove the creative force of the workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and all the Romanian people who, closely united around the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, are working with revolutionary enthusiasm, devotion, and self-denial to implement the targets for the fatherland's socioeconomic development and the party program.

Appreciating the results attained, the plenum also stresses that they could have been even better if all sectors, enterprises, and socioeconomic units had acted with greater firmness and communist exactingness and responsibility to scientifically organize the entire economic activity, rationally utilize the technical-material base and manpower, efficiently, resolve all problems concerning production activity, further improve manufacturing technologies, and firmly instill a high spirit of order and discipline.

The Central Committee plenum asks party bodies and organizations and the working people's collectives to take resolute steps to eliminate shortcomings as soon as possible and to act in a highly responsible spirit and do everything to radically improve activities in all sectors and ensure the necessary conditions for successfully fulfilling and even overfulfilling the plan provisions for 1986 and the entire 5-year plan. In this respect, the plenum points to the particular importance of accentuating the quality and efficiency aspects of economic activity and proceeding to an intensive economic development.

In the spirit of recommendations and tasks included in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech to the plenum, resolute steps should be taken to utilize productive capacities, machines, and equipment with maximum efficiency and to better utilize, in a spirit of greater responsibility, the country's material and human resources with a view to attaining higher efficiency in all activity.

The plenum asks that further resolute action be taken to implement development programs in the mining and energy fields, ensure the proper operation of power stations, and expand the country's energy and raw materials base concurrently with ensuring and producing new, cheaper, and more efficient materials in other industrial sectors. At the same time, resolute steps should be taken to strictly observe consumption norms, further reduce energy and raw material consumption, improve technologies with a view to further reducing this consumption, parts, and subassemblies.

In order to resolutely proceed toward intensive development, the plenum asks that particular attention be paid to scientifically organizing production and work, drafting and speedily applying programs for the modernization of economic units, and producing new and highly efficient technologies, machines, and equipment. Concurrently with all this, it is necessary to improve the work norm-setting system, proceeding from the need to reduce auxiliary and nonproductive personnel and to guide the working people's activity toward production and material and scientific creation and toward increasing economic profitability and efficiency.

In the spirit of the 13th party congress decisions and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's orientations and recommendations, the plenum stressed the need to firmly apply the principles of the economic-financial mechanism and the new regulations concerning the increase in both the personal and collective material and financial responsibility for the proper administration and utilization of material and monetary funds, national wealth, and socialist property, which are the sure foundation of the ceaseless growth of the national income. In accordance with the provisions of the law, all activity should be based on the principle of self-management and self-administration, which presupposes that each unit should have its own income and expenditure budget and should increasingly cover its production costs -- even all of them, wherever possible -- without resorting to credits. In this respect, it is necessary to strictly observe the new rules on granting credits and advances for production and fixing their size in close correlation with the requirements of productive activity. It is also necessary to firmly apply the principles of remuneration in accordance with the quality and quantity of work, generally introduce the overall contract and piecework system in all sectors of activity, and closely link it to the concrete results obtained in production by each member of our society.

Emphasizing that a radical change is required in the concepts governing the financial field and economic activity, the plenum draws attention to the need to reexamine the norms for fixing prices and to exercise firm control over prices in all sectors.

The plenum asks the government and its coordinating councils in charge of specific problems to better fulfill their role in operatively solving on time all the complex problems emerging in various fields of activity.

Proceeding from the need to raise all activity to a higher level, the plenum calls on all party bodies and organizations, state bodies, collective management bodies at all levels, and the working people to responsibly act in a high revolutionary spirit to smoothly and thoroughly fulfill all 1986 tasks and the supplementary program, with a view to commendably attaining export production on schedule and fulfilling the investment plan under conditions of higher efficiency, thus ensuring the exemplary implementation of party policy for the fatherland's socioeconomic development and of the program for the construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's progress toward communism.

2. The plenum unanimously approved the report on the number, composition, and organizational structure of the party on 31 December 1985 and on the political-organizational activity carried out by party bodies and organizations to implement party decisions and directives.

The Central Committee pointed out Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's decisive contribution to strengthening the unity and increasing the leading role of the RCP, the continuator of the highest struggle traditions of our workers class and people, which will mark this year 65 years of heroic and glorious existence.

The plenum assesses that, in the spirit of the 13th congress decisions and of RCP Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's orientations and recommendations, the political-organizational activity carried out last year by party-state, mass, and public bodies and organizations was guided more firmly toward pooling all the people's efforts to fulfill the yearly and 5-year plans and create a stable basis for the 1986-90 5-Year Plan and for the future development until the year 2000. We have intensified the guidance, support, and control activity of local party bodies, ministries, other central bodies, and the managements of economic units so as to enable them to better and more efficiently carry out their duties and strengthen responsibility, order, and discipline in all fields of activity.

On the basis of the party secretary general's orientations, in 1985 we intensified and improved the political-ideological work and the activity to engage the working people in discussing the resolving of all problems concerning the socialist and communist construction in our fatherland.

A telling proof of the great prestige enjoyed by the party among the people is the fact that more than 132,000 working people became party members in 1985; of these, 65.9 percent are workers, 15.7 percent are peasants, and 18.4 percent are intellectuals. The plenum assesses that these percentages fall within the orientations established by the March 1985 RCP Central Committee plenum, thus ensuring an appropriate social, age, and national composition of the party.

On 31 December 1985, the RCP had 3,557,207 members, the share of Communists within the adult population now being 22.67 percent and within the employed population 32.53 percent.

While appreciating the results attained, the plenum draws attention to a number of shortcomings still apparent in this very important field of party activity and demands that resolute steps be taken to eliminate them, with a view to increasingly asserting the party's leading role in society and raising all activity to the level of the greater requirements set by the party for each party member. Party bodies and organizations must firmly work to further improve their working style and methods and strengthen control over the fulfillment of decisions in order to increase the party's capability of mobilizing the entire nation to implement the 13th congress decisions and the party program.

3. Examining and approving the report on the activity carried out by party-state bodies and mass organizations in 1985 for implementing the party's cadre policy, the plenum stresses that the elaboration and the implementation of party policy in this field were carried out with the support and under the direct guidance of RCP Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. Intensive steps were taken last year to ensure the necessary labor force and cadres for all fields of activity, in accordance with the qualitatively higher requirements and demands of the current stage of the Romanian society's development, cadres with a thorough political and professional training and with a developed spirit of responsibility and initiative, who work with self-denial and devotion to fulfill their duties and hold dear the interests of the party, fatherland, and the people, were promoted in the party-state apparatus and in all branches of socioeconomic life.

On the basis of targets established by the party leadership, the party bodies and organizations have taken firmer steps to ensure an appropriate social composition of cadres in all fields of activity. Consequently, the share of cadres deriving from the ranks of workers, foremen, and technicians has increased within the party apparatus, mass and public organizations, and various sectors of the national economy. Constant concern was shown for promoting women to leadership positions in party, mass, and public organizations at various levels and in the entire socioeconomic life. Likewise, an important number of young people, thoroughly trained from a political and professional viewpoint, were promoted to various leading positions. We have thus ensured an appropriate cadre composition in all sectors of activity.

The plenum calls on party, state bodies and mass organizations to further pay particular attention to selecting, training, and promoting cadres as well as to raising their political and professional level and educating them in the revolutionary spirit of party discipline and the norms of socialist ethics and equity. We must always bear in mind that the implementation of targets for the country's socioeconomic development in 1986 and later depends to a decisive extent on ensuring cadres with an all-round training and on commendably implementing party policy in this field.

4. The plenum also examined and approved a report on the activity of resolving proposals, notifications, complaints, and requests from working people in 1985.

The 20th anniversary of the Ninth RCP Congress also broadly reflected in the letters addressed to the party-state leadership by the working people in industry, agriculture, education, culture, and art and by party, mass, and public organizations. The fatherland's citizens have reiterated their sentiments of high praise, great regard, and profound gratitude for Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and for the historic achievements attained by the Romanian people in the 20 years since he was elected to the supreme position of RCP secretary general. Likewise, they expressed their full endorsement for the party's decisions and the state's laws, as well as the firm determination to act to implement the entire party-state domestic and foreign policy.

The plenum very positively assesses the fact that the number of letters, requests, and audiences has diminished this year as a result of better socioeconomic activities and as an outcome of the improvement of the working people's living conditions and of the working style and methods of party-state bodies and collective management bodies. Party bodies and organizations, the people's councils, mass and public organizations, and the working people's councils in enterprises and institutions have steadily worked to put to better use the proposals made by the working personnel and uncover the causes of certain shortcomings, thus taking steps to prevent and curb negative phenomena.

The plenum calls on party-state bodies and mass and public organizations further to take firm action to examine and resolve the working people's proposals, notifications, and requests with maximum efficiency and competence and to meet halfway and pay attention to any problem of a general or personal interest with which the working people turn to them, in accordance with the country's laws and our socialist society's norms of ethics and equity.

5. The plenum approves the international activity carried out by our party and state in 1985 and the main targets of our foreign policy in 1986.

The plenum points out the fact that the international activity of our party and state was carried out in full accordance with the 13th RCP Congress decisions and the orientations given by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, whose consistent initiatives and actions for peace, cooperation, and the attainment of mankind's great requirements have made him enjoy profound regard and gratitude throughout the world and have imposed him in mankind's consciousness as a great and bright hero of peace.

The Central Committee highly values the decisive contribution made by our party-state leader Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to formulating and promoting socialist Romania's foreign policy, characterized by dynamism, principledness, and a broad opening, thus increasing our country's prestige and role in the world. An essential role in implementing our party-state international policy in 1985 devolved on Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's meetings and talks at home and abroad with heads of state and government from all parts of the world, with leaders of various parties and national liberation movements, and with other prominent figures of political, economic, cultural, and scientific life.

Foreign policy ventures were directed toward continuously extending Romania's international relations on the basis of the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in the domestic affairs of other countries, mutual advantage, nonuse of force and the threat of force, and each people's right to independently decide its destiny and socioeconomic development path.

In accordance with the directions established by the 13th party congress, our international activity consistently focused on comprehensively developing cooperation and solidarity with all socialist countries, primarily the neighboring ones. The plenum reiterates Romania's determination to continue to actively participate in implementing the decisions on improving and developing cooperation within CEMA and fulfilling the comprehensive program on scientific-technical cooperation until the year 2000.

Romania's relations with developing countries have expanded and diversified. At the same time, in the spirit of peaceful coexistence, relations with the developed capitalist countries have also registered a positive evolution.

In 1985, when the international situation continued to remain serious and complex, our party and state took resolute steps to bring about disarmament, to establish a climate of detente, security, trust, and fruitful cooperation in Europe and throughout the world; to peacefully solve conflicts and contentious issues between states through negotiations; and to eliminate force and the threat of force from international relations.

Assessing that a halt to the arms race and the need for disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, constitute the key issue of the contemporary age, the plenum reiterates our party-state's unflinching determination to take further firm action to attain this major requirement of mankind.

Romania speaks out most resolutely for proceeding without delay to disarmament measures, reducing and eliminating all nuclear weapons, and defending the supreme right of people and nations to peace and life. The plenum estimates that an end to all nuclear tests and the conclusion of a general agreement in this respect would be very important for halting the arms race and bringing about disarmament. Our country appeals to the Soviet Union to continue its moratorium on nuclear tests and to the United States to join the moratorium proclaimed by the USSR, something which would have a great impact internationally and would create an appropriate framework for reaching mutually acceptable understandings with regard to the major goal of finally eliminating nuclear weapons.

The plenum reiterates our party-state's support for the program proposed by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on nuclear disarmament and the complete elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of this century.

The plenum values the realism and particular significance of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's proposal that one should proceed to formulating a comprehensive program of general disarmament, which should focus primarily on nuclear disarmament but also take into consideration all the so-called conventional weapons, including chemical, bacteriological, and other kinds of weapons. Likewise, one should proceed from the need to reduce military expenditures and troops, eliminate military blocs and bases, put an end to large-scale maneuvers, including in international waters, and stop all demonstrations of force at the borders with other states. Only such a program would open the way for general disarmament, eliminate the danger of war, enhance trust among states, and allow all nations to concentrate their forces on socioeconomic development without fear of aggression.

The plenum asks that in 1986, proclaimed by the United Nations as the International Year of Peace, everything should be done to ensure that this year marks a transition to a new policy of solving problems through negotiations, to a policy of disarmament and peace, and to greater actions aimed at eliminating underdevelopment, establishing a new international economic order, and building a better and more just world on our planet.

The plenum expresses the determination of our party and people to actively participate with all their might in resolving the complex problems of the present-day world and to firmly act, along with revolutionary, progressive, and anti-imperialist forces everywhere and all nations, to free mankind from the danger of a nuclear catastrophe and for the triumph of reason and the ideals of peace, disarmament, freedom, independence, and progress for all nations.

The plenum expresses the conviction that the important documents adopted here are in accordance with the people's wishes and enjoy the adherence of the entire nation; it also expresses the conviction that our heroic workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and all working people will make efforts to commendably implement these documents.

Fully endorsing party Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's fiery appeals, the plenum ardently calls on party bodies and organizations, Communists, all working people, and the entire nation to resolutely work to commendably fulfill this year's plan, to attain and deliver the production earmarked for export on schedule, to implement the programs for the development and modernization of production, to conclude the spring sowing campaign as soon as possible, by 20 April at the latest, and to attain a higher quality and efficiency level of work in all fields of activity.

Let us do everything to meet the 65th anniversary of the creation of our glorious party with ever greater successes by acting with devotion and in a revolutionary spirit to exemplarily implement the great targets for our country's socioeconomic development established by the 13th party congress and for the program to build the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensure Romania's progress toward communism!

DOBRESCU SPEAKS AT BUCHAREST MAY DAY MEETING

AU070611 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 1 May 86 p 3

["Speech by Comrade Miu Dobrescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and chairman of the Party Central Collegium" at meeting to mark May Day in Bucharest on 30 April]

[Text] Much beloved and esteemed Comrade Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu, much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, dear comrades, and esteemed foreign guests: The Romanian people are today celebrating the traditional May Day -- the day of international solidarity of the working people everywhere -- under the sign of an extensive and vigorous mobilization to unflinchingly implement the 13th party congress decisions and closely united around our heroic Communist Party and our great leader, a bright symbol of our whole nation, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. (loud, prolonged cheers, applause; chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!")

This year May Day is taking place in an atmosphere of great patriotic feelings and of intensive and enthusiastic work occasioned by the 65th anniversary of the creation of the RCP.

Now, on the eve of this event of historic importance in our homeland's life, we want to pay great homage to our glorious Communist Party -- the standard bearer in the fearless struggle to defend our national existence and dignity , our freedom, and independence, with the existence and activity of which all the great revolutionary changes in the present-day Romanian society are indissolubly linked. (applause)

We also want to pay fervent homage to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the great son of our nation, the founder of modern Romania, who, from an early age, devoted his model life and revolutionary activity to the supreme interests of the Romanian people; we want to pay homage to this great hero of our nation, the wise and clear-sighted leader who has been designated by history to lead the country through times of victories towards the peaks of socialist and communist society. (loud applause, cheers; chants of "Ceausescu-Romania, Our Esteem and Pride!")

With sentiments of great respect, we associate these heroic years with the name of Comrade Elena Ceausescu, who from her early youth was present in the Romanian workers' struggle for a better life, freedom, and social justice. (applause)

This year will mark the 50th anniversary of the lawsuit brought against the communist and antifascist militants of May-June 1936 in Brasov. This bright page in the history of the party and country is indissolubly linked with the name of our illustrious leader of today, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, who, from his early youth, asserted himself -- under the difficult conditions of that time -- as a fearless fighter for the cause of the many, for the dignity and truth, and for the triumph of socialism and communism on Romanian soil. (loud applause)

Present for longer than 50 years inthe struggle for asserting the great ideals of unity and freedom of the Romanian people, his great qualities of a consistent revolutionary and enthusiastic patriot, profoundly devoted to the cause of the party and Romanian people asserted themselves vigorously in all great revolutionary and class struggles in the thirties. The uproar and incadescence of events in those years fully proved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's vocation as a great leader. (loud applause; chants of "Ceausescu, RCP!")

Strengthened in the great revolutionary struggles of that time, going through the school of the antifascist struggle, and being one in the front ranks of the national antifascist committee and an important organizer of youth struggle actions who was severely tried by the strict regime in prisons, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu asserted himself in the overall activity linked with preparing and organizing the memorable 1939 May Day actions. (applause)

During the great class struggles of that time, the political will of the Romanian workers asserted itself vigoriously, as did the potential and vigor of the party, strengthened in the struggle against fascism, to defend the democratic freedoms and the country's sovereignty and integrity.

The great August 1944 historic act -- organized and led by the Communist Party -- opened for Romania the road to profound social and political transformations, fulfilled the ideals of justice and freedom for which former generations had struggled and made sacrifices, and fully asserted the sacred right of the Romanian people to be free and sovereign in their own country.

The fact that, when recalling those glorious years of the history of the Communist and revolutionary movement of our homeland of our Communist Party, we find our nation's beloved and esteemed leader, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, always in the front ranks of the heroic struggle, is for all of us reason for justified patriotic pride, for admiration and gratitude. (prolonged applause, cheers; chants of "Ceausescu and the People!")

The Communists and all our people also greatly appreciate the long and fruitful activity carried out within the workers revolutionary movement by Comrade Elena Ceausescu, who, together with the most eminent and excellent son of our people, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, has devoted and continues to devote, with exemplary self-denial and great competence, her whole life and activity to achieving the most noble aspirations of the Romanian people for material and cultural well-being. (applause)

Esteemed comrades, in the more than 40 years of socialist revolution and construction, Romania has traveled several historic stages in a relatively short period. From a country with a poorly developed industry and a backward agriculture, it turned into an agrarian-industrial country which is successfully building the comprehensively developed socialist society.

The sustained increase in all branches of the national economy and the constant progress of science, education, and culture have ensured the necessary conditions to improve the people's standard of living, the supreme goal of the overall policy promoted by the party.

A distinctive place of decisive importance during the period opened 40 years ago in Romania's history is held by the stage initiated by the ninth party congress, the richest stage in achievements in our homeland's overall multimillenary existence. (loud applause)

All great achievements registered by our people during the years of vigorous emulation in the wake of the ninth party congress are indissolubly linked with the name and activity of the party secretary general and with the bold thinking and activity of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu; they are linked with his strong personality that has lent excellence and grandeur to that period which all our people today term, with great recognition, the "Nicolae Ceausescu epoch," that is they have given it the name of its founder. (prolonged applause, loud cheers; chants of "Ceausescu, RCP!")

The new spirit of profound change and great revolutionary dynamism initiated by the ninth party congress has fully influenced the overall development of the Romanian socialist society.

In the past 5-year plan, the Romanian people registered important achievements in all areas. Industrial production increased 21.6 percent, agricultural production 10 percent, and the working people's real incomes 8 percent. Science, education, and culture -- factors of decisive importance for successfully building socialism and communism in our country -- developed vigorously. All these achievements which are tellingly illustrated in the constant increase in the national wealth and in the improved standard of living of our people, demonstrate the correctness of the policy promoted by the RCP, a vital center of our society.

Responding to the mobilizing incentives and calls by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the working people throughout our country recorded important results in the first quarter of the current year, being determined to do all they can to successfully fulfill the historic 13th party congress decisions.

On this May Day, please permit me, on behalf of and authorized by the party leadership, its secretary general, and by the president of the SR of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to extend warmest congratulations to the workers class, the peasantry, intelligentsia, all working people and all our people for all these achievements and to wish them new successes in all areas. (prolonged applause, cheers; chants of "We Will Work and Struggle to Safeguard Peace!")

Esteemed comrades, the 13th congress decisions have opened up new horizons for our people in our homeland's socialist construction. In implementing the basic strategic goal of this stage, particular attention will be paid to developing the forces of production, perfecting social relations, and continuing the process of revolutionary changes in society. In the current 5-year plan we will place special stress on intensively developing all industrial branches, improving the technical and qualitative level of production, and increasing the efficiency of our overall activity.

Particular attention will be paid to achieving the new scientific-technological revolution, scientifically organizing the production process and labor, and introducing automation and robotics into the production process on a large scale in order to double labor productivity in the current 5-year plan.

This is why, in the spirit of orientations and recommendations by the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, it is necessary for us to take very responsible action, in a greatly revolutionary spirit, to smoothly and completely fulfill the tasks for 1986 and the overall 5-year plan, implement the additional programs, fulfill export production on schedule and with the required good quality, in order to fulfill the investment plan under conditions of increased efficiency in order to achieve a radical and truly revolutionary turning point in the management of the overall socioeconomic activity of our country.

In agriculture, the basic goal is to implement the agrarian revolution, radically change the mode of work and life of the overall peasantry, and achieve secure and stable agricultural yields that will fully meet the consumption requirements of our whole people and other requirements of the national economy.

As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed at the recent RCP Central Committee plenum, it is necessary to pay particular attention to firmly applying the financial-economic, self-management, and self-administration mechanism and the principles of remuneration according to the quantity and quality of completed work, and it is necessary to give general application to the piece-work and overall contract system in all sectors.

In the overall educational-political activity, our party focuses on fashioning the new man with a progressive revolutionary awareness and a thorough professional training, an enthusiastic and devoted builder of the most just and most human system on our homeland's soil -- communism.

Esteemed comrades, the close link and interdependence between our domestic and foreign policies is a distinctive feature of the activity carried out by our party and state and of the thinking of our party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. (loud applause)

The intensive activity carried out by the party secretary general and president of the Republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu -- a prominent figure of the present-day world and an enthusiastic hero of peace and understanding among peoples -- aimed at developing our party's and state's cooperation and solidarity with all countries in the world and with all progressive, democratic, and anti-imperialist forces everywhere in the struggle for a better and more just world on our planet enjoys the unanimous endorsement of the Communists and of our whole people. (loud applause)

The numerous missions of peace, cooperation, and friendship by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu, in all parts of the globe and his constant dialogue and realistic initiatives aimed at resolving the major problems confronting mankind tremendously increased our country's influence and prestige in the world, Romania's president being recognized unanimously as a Great Hero of the Romanian Nation and as a Great Hero of Peace. (prolonged applause, cheers; chants of "Ceausescu, Peace!" "Ceausescu, Romania!")

Through President Nicolae Ceausescu's voice of great international authority, through the declaration-appeal of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, and through the declaration of the Grand National Assembly of the SR of Romania on the International Year of Peace, Socialist Romania has vigorously asserted its firm determination to act resolutely to eliminate the danger of war and safeguard peace. (applause)

A particularly important first step in this direction would be the conclusion of a general accord on halting nuclear tests by all states. At the recent congress of the General Union of Trade Unions, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said: "We appeal to the United States to halt nuclear tests and to join the moratorium proposed by the Soviet Union."

The president of the SR of Romania once again stressed the pressing need to formulate a complex program on general disarmament and on substantially reducing and eliminating all nuclear weapons, all arms, including conventional ones, and military troops and budgets.

We firmly speak out for ending all conflicts and tension solely by political means and negotiations. Through the authorized voice of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, the Romanian people most energetically condemn the bombing raid on Libya by the U.S. Air Force which caused great material damage and claimed human lives. We believe that there is no rationale that can justify such flagrant aggression against an independent and sovereign country which is a member of the United Nations.

On the basis of the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's concept, and in the spirit of the internationalist traditions that inspired the workers class in Romania from the very beginning of its political activity, the RCP is developing today broad relations with all communist and workers parties, with all socialist and social-democratic parties, and with other progressive forces, and advocates the strengthening of international solidarity among them on the basis of the revolutionary principles of equality, mutual respect and noninterference in domestic affairs, considering this solidarity an important militant factor in the struggle for peace and social progress. (applause)

The Romanian people, closely united around the Communist Party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, reassert their firm determination on May Day, now, on the eve of the party's glorious jubilee, to make every effort to commendably implement the excellent program of work and struggle they are facing in order to constantly elevate Socialist Romania, a sovereign and independent country, and express their active and militant solidarity with the working people everywhere and with the advanced and progressive forces throughout the world in the struggle for the triumph of the noble ideals of peace, freedom, and human dignity. (prolonged applause, cheers)

Long live May Day -- the day of international solidarity of the working people everywhere!

Long live the heroic and glorious RCP headed by its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu!

Long live our wonderful people, enthusiastic builders of socialism and communism on our homeland's soil!

Long live our dear homeland -- the socialist Republic of Romania -- and may it prosper!

May the policy of peace, friendship, and cooperation among all states in the world triumph! (prolonged applause, loud cheers; the participants in the festive meeting give lengthy applause to the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to the manysided prosperity of our dear homeland, and to our heroic people, builders of socialism and communism on Romania's soil)

CEAUSESCU TOURS INDUSTRIAL UNITS IN SALAJ COUNTY

AU230902 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0836 GMT 23 May 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 23/5/1986 -- Now on a working visit to Salaj County (north-western Romania), President Nicolae Ceausescdu and Mme Elena Ceausescu visited on May 23 in the morning economic units in Zalau Municipality, the seat of the county: The pig iron and steel industrial fittings manufacturing enterprises and the Tyre Enterprise.

The working visit continues.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON 10TH SERBIAN LC CONGRESS

Stambolic Address

LD260205 Belgrade Tanjug Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1508 GMT 25 May 86

[Text] Belgrade, 25 May (TANJUG) -- The Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization is, for the time being, the only known and the only recognized adopted path out of the crisis. By a decision of the 12th LCY Congress and for the purpose of creating the political and social conditions necessary for implementing this program, the Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management was begun with strong reasons. This work has been going on right up to now, so no changes have yet been made to the political system. The Long-Term Program was not called long-term to signify long-term postponement.

With this stance, Ivan Stambolic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee, in his introductory report at the 10th Congress of the LC of this republic, linked together two central themes of the congress and of society -- the implementation of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization and changes in the political system. In a wide-ranging introductory report not one vital element in the struggle of the LC for socioeconomic transformations was omitted.

During these last few years, Stambolic stressed, from the timid enunciation of the word "crisis" to severe social criticism and self-criticism, we have arrived at a full awareness of the economic crisis. Our chief problems are not the foreign debts themselves, either. During all these years industry has accumulated much experience. Many factories have been built. Many technologies and production methods have been mastered. Therefore, although we are in debt in many ways we are potentially wealthy. If we exploit the possibilities, we will repay the debts.

The basic goal of development policy in the coming period must be Stambolic stressed, the restructuring of the economy. We cannot improve production by the balanced growth of all sectors. With the mechanical growth of existing production in accordance with the mechancial growth of existing production in accordance with the formula "as much as possible of the same," our misfortunes would mount. The world market will punish us for overexpensive and outdated production. Our changes of economic stabilization are not to be found in the reduction of consumption and in restrictions but in increased production. We know what changes we need. To bring them about we need much greater accumulation and more self-management than we have at present. But if, at this moment, the problem of the lack of accumulation is objective, the surplus of voluntarism in investment policy is certainly subjective.

The Long-Term Program took into account the fact of Serbia's lack of development in relation to the Yugoslav average. We must implement more consistently the jointly agreed measures for halting the relative decline of Serbia that are envisioned in the Yugoslav Medium-Term Plan. However, Stambolic stressed, we must ourselves, first of all, exploit more rationally our own possibilities of development and realize our own medium-term plan.

Instead of protection the "loss-makers," let us stimulate the best. The LC is on the side of those who attain a high income with their work and who confirm the success of their work on the world market. At this juncture the LC must be on the side of the minority in order to open up the roads of the development of self-managing society. And all this must be on behalf of and in the interests of the majority, was Stambolic's message.

Turning to the problems of agriculture, the introductory report states that this field must operate and develop like any other economic activity.

Tough resistance is, however, being offered by some who advocate a consumerist approach in agriculture, according to which everyone wants to have "his own" sugar refinery, dairy, slaughter house, even if they work only at half capacity.

Tangible support for the ecnomic strengthening of the individual farm, its oreintation toward the market and its essential interdependence with the social sector, is necessary. Let us remove, Stambolic stressed, the bureaucratic and other obstacles to the free assciation of the peasants in cooperatives.

The strengthening of the reproductive capabilities of the economy ought to be realized, above all, by increasing income by more productive economic activity, but, Stambolic said, no saving nor one renunciation to the benefit of the economy and its accumulation are small enough to be underestimated. Nor should personal incomes continue to grow more rapidly than labor productivity. In the fields of work with privileged conditions for the generation of income, above all others, the growth in personal incomes over and above labor productivity should be halted.

Singing out unemployment "both of those without work and of those in work" as one of the most serious problems, Ivan Stambolic said that "this problem cannot be resolved by cramming young educated people into already overcrowded collectives." Let us increase employment, above all, by opening up new work places and creating moe shifts where this is economically appropriate.

Significant accumulation is in private hands, Stambolic recalled, and noted that for years we have been seeing how the local bureaucracy and the legislative organs "are defending" socilism from those who wish to invest private funds. Socialist society is the society of work. Why are we afraid of individual initiative and the taking of risks? While Serbia comes at the bottom of the list in terms of participation of the private sector in the economy, at the same time, for years, billions of dollars have been waiting for construction organizations and bankers to come along and build thousands of apartments made of domestic-produced bricks, glass, cement, steel, and internal fittings. "if they are bothered by some regulations, we shall change them. But if they are bothered about the lack of initiative and a program -- what then should be changed?"

We do not adjust the speed of the assembly line to the slowest. Let us give the greatest material and moral stimulus to the most capable ones, those who are most hard-working and most productive. With the ideology of "equal stomachs," we would all remain equally hungry but satiated in terms of ideology, Stambolic warned.

The first message of the new industrial policy, in his words, runs: "As much value and know-how in the smallest possible amount of goods and materials." It follows from this that the schooling system should also be modernized and adapted to the demands of today's and future needs. Mistakes in the education and upbringing of young people take longer and are more difficult to correct than errors in the production of goods.

Having stressed the obligation of the LC to initiative and develop Marxist discussions on the contradictions and the roads of the development of self-management, the president of the Serbian LC Central Committee stressed: "If we are to start from distant objectives as from current measures and daily standards, we will become enslaved in a dogmatic deception that all prejudices have alredy been overcome in peoples' consciousness by the ideas of socialism, and that all the legacies of the past have been abolished, that we are all unselfish, self-sacrificing, that work has become a pleasure.

These misconceptions breed and encourage various forms of voluntarism and deceitful radicalism, according to which, with the present implementation of the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, it is finally possible to transcend the market, goods, a nation, a republic, province and the federal character of Yugoslavia. in fact, in this way, everything is erroneously being misinterpreted as an obstacle to the deveopment of self-management."

Our policy of change should not demolish the long-term goals of the liberation of labor and workers from the mediation of the market, the nation or the state. But, Stambolic stressed, it is certain that these goals cannot be achieved over night and they cannot be arrived at by taking short-cuts. Sometimes the longer route is quicker. "A well though-out and self-management-oriented role of the assemblies of the municipalities, the provinces, the republic and the federation and their organs can sometimes lead more quickly to the association of labor than the simplified demand for everything to be left to associated labor."

Recalling that virtually all self-managing rights are decentralized and transferred to two key exponents of development policy -- the basic organization of associated labor and to the republics and provinces -- Stambolic advocated "new concentrations of a voluntary and self-managing nature, above all, based on economic logic." There is no efficient self-management without the self-managing unity of the appropriate functions in the work organization and at all levels of economic organization. "There is sometimes an attempt to represent this whole problem as a return to the old. Ostensibly, we want the old centralistic enterprise, i.e. bureaucratic centralism, statist relations, monoplistic capital (?relations) and all of this is contrary to self-management. If we respond to the demands of life, then we are realists, ready to change this reality, and we are not opportunists. With an LC of this kind, working people begin to take action."

In a broad analysis of the social relation to past labor, Stambolic asked what direct gain there is for producers today if they earmark more for accumulation, if they invest more efficienlty, and make better use of existing funds? Nothing special. Their right to the fruits of their labor is the same as it is for those whose result is a loss. The misconception that the arrogation of income on the basis of past labor is the same as arrogation on the basis of property, in other words capitalist exploitation, has provoked a great deal of isolation and division and has turned many away from self-managing integration.

The explanation as to why he was advocating a self-managing mechanism for concentrating funds on the princile of common inome. Stambolic also referred to Article 85 of the Law on Associated Labor, according to which an organization that pools funds has no guarantee whatsover that it will recoup its real value, but an organization that pools labor is guaranteed, out of common income, both personal incomes, common consumption, and accumulation.

There is too much criticism that, instead of the pooling of resources, credit relations prevail. This criticism is correct, but with crediting as envisaged in Article 88 of the Law on Associated Labor, as opposed to pooling by means of the generation of common income, funds invested can be recouped and interest is also greater than the recompense from pooling. But according to this same law on Associated Labor, a citizen, when he invests funds in an organization of associated labor, also has the right to the principal and the interest, and he can convert both of them into consumption.

"If it is this way, why do we not change Article 85 of the Law on Associated Labor in order to spread more evenly the risk involved in joint ventures and to guarantee to organizations that pool resources that they will be fully reimbursed and that they will derive benefit from these actions?"

Citing these and other examples, Stambolic concluded: "We are not for change for the sake of change. We are not engaged in setting political fashion trends. Critically pointing out certain systemic solutions, which in terms of the letter are for socialist self-management but in 10 years of self-management practice have not proved to be such, sometimes they even produce non-self-management methods and divisive interests. We shall contribute more to the defense of basic systemic solutions if we do more merely swear by them."

Having stressed that, the communists of Serbia stand by the viewpoint that the federative organization of Yugoslavia is the only one that guarantees the equality, security, and optimal socialist development for the Serbian people, as well as all national and nationalities, Stambolic warned that "the republics and provinces are in the SFRF but that Yugoslavia, too, must live through each republic and province. Federalism cannot be at one moment reduced largely to the federal organs and institutions and at another equated virtually with its individual constituent factors or federal units. We need to confront not only the statist absolutes of the state, both the separatist ones as well as the centralist ones, but also the notions of the unhistoric denial of the role of the state from the position of a false left-wing standpoint, particularism, and nationalism."

Stating that after the adoption of LCY Central Committee stances on relations in the SR of Serbia, there are initial results in resolving some of the vital problems that have put a brake on the development and generalized the crisis of relations in the SR of Serbia, Stambolic turned, in his words, to "the various misunderstandings and the resistance to efforts to resolve the main problems in the relations in the LC of Serbia." We are being criticized, he observed, for being too preoccupied with ourselves, or rather the details of party organization, that we have become stuck in immaterial formal things and that around us life is crying out for urgent and resolute solutions to major economic and social problems in which people have a vital interest. It has turned out, however, that differing approaches, disagreement and even conflict within the Serbian LC have not been created by economic problems.

The idological and political divisions have exacerbated these problems and narrowed the scope for resolving them. We must therefore, Stambolic stressed, do our utmost to settle these relations in such a way as not to affect the unity and integrity of the SR of Serbia, but also not to reduce the degree of autonomy enjoyed by the provinces. While we are making efforts to carry out this task, which as admittedly on ocassions been tiresome and arduous, separatists and irredentists continue to regard them with contempt. Instead of negotiations they advocate ultimatums. Some want to destroy the republic, other to abolish the provinces.

As the main task, Stambolic designated the consistent implementation of the constitutional concept of the socialist republic, i.e. of its unity, as an integral and complex community. If the historically and socially indispensable unity and togetherness of the SR of Serbia fail to be realized, we could find ourselves facing the danger of having to again raise the issue of whether the Serbian people's national issue has been settle in accordance with the LCY's long-standing strategic orientation and policy.

A special section of Stambolic's report focused on the tasks facing the Serbian LC in the political action in Kosovo. New reasons and motives have emerged that oblige us to take full note of the real situation in Kosovo which has proven to be more serious than many imagined. "No one in Yugoslavia should reconcile himself with a situation in which he is expected merely to be informed about Kosovo, to give verbal support or condemnation only, or in which the province is treated as an optional issue on agendas most of the time. Given the nature of the problems in Kosovo it is unrealistic to expect them to be solved by political measures, futile meetings, messages, and official visits solely."

According to Stambolic, the Serbian and Montenegrin populations of Kosovo feels that they are being denied its rights in specific dealings with the state administration and judiciary. "They see Albanian nationalism not only in its pruely political form, i.e. as the writing of slogans, but have confronted it in quite specific situations, in the behavior of some hardened arrogant bureaucrats who treat them as second-rate citizens. Admittedly, this situation is not characteristic of Kosovo alone. However, what is happening in Kosovo has clearly demonstrated that bureaucracy is the greatest enemy of workers be they Serbs, Albanians, Montenegrins, or any other."

Drawing attention to the intensified emigration under duress of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, Stambolic said that it was not enough to counter the fascist methods used by separatists by expressions of condemnation only. The self-confidence of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo must be restored through all the social measures available. It is the communists, and those in leading positions, in particular, who must be in th forefront of the efforts and who must lead all well-intentioned people. "People will forgive us if we go overboard in the struggles we are conducting but they will not gorgive our vacillation, opportunism, or unacceptable compromises."

Despite all current problems in intra-national relations, the LC of Servia firmly believes that the LCY general policy in tis sphere is scientifically and historically correct and that it has established itself as a principled political concept. We must, therefore, even during the times of burgeoning nationalism avoid nationalism as the first item on the agendas of our meetings and discussions. Nationalism, Stambolic noted, is neither the sole not the true characteristic of any of our nations of nationalities. The scope for nationalist activity will be that much more limited and less dangerous if the entire economic and political system, its institutions, and its organizations, function as an efficient self-managed and socialist entity, free of any obstacles of sepratist or unitarist nature. This would be the best way for the LC of Serbia to gather enough strength for an even more fighting approach.

The LC of Serbia and all of its organized forces will employ all ideological, political, and legal means available to counter tendencies to revive any form of nationalism be it Serbian, Albanian, Hungarian, Muslim or any other. In this struggle, political condemnations and verbal dissociation will not suffice, Stambolic said, heralding a determined political action against nationalism. In this category he included, for instance, the therses, put forward in some articles and speeches, in which Yugoslav Communists are branded as national traitors; the views which arbitrarily identify the entire Albanian nationality with irredentists and the whole of the Serbvian nation with unitarists, hegemonists, and revanchists; the views by some privileged columnists who, even today, refuse to recognize the Macedonian and Montenegrain nations; the views by the pseudo-left which maintain that the concept of nation is an historic evil and that the federal system and even self-management are the causes of nationalism; and that the views to the effect that the 1974 Constitution is contradictory to the interest of the SR of Serbia...

The disintegrational trends in Yugoslav society have in recent years, in particular, produced a situation in which national bureaucracies have increasingly relied on "their own" social sciences, especially on "their own" historiographies. The work on compiling a history of the Yugoslav people, Stambolic remarked, was not discontinued for technical reasons. Historians have long since maintained that such a history cannot be written on the principle of parity, i.e. as the total of eight independent histories. Increased interest in the latest period of our history stems from some our our specific features. "We are a multinational country. The political struggles of the past were fierce. Historiography has for a long time suffered from monotony and official approach. It is understandable that new ideas and approaches give rise to excitement and heated discussions. For instance, the kind of literature being written in Kosovo or about Kosovo has become politicized, mythologized, biased, and scientifically deficient."

Political bodies should not take over the job of professional critic from, for instance, a historian. Scientific criticism must come from the relevant scientific branch. However, in our country, these matters seem to have been confused. Truth has never been established through political campaigns but it does not mean that historians should remain silent. A controversial book will not undermine the society's foundations. Something is, however, wrong with communist historians, Stambolic maintained, who fail to view such books critically. On behalf of whom and why do they abdicate their responsibilities?

A considerable part of the report was occupied by the issue of the LC and the cultural policy. The following assessment attracted particular attention:

"The issues of creative freedom have on most occasions and quite unjustly been referred to by politicians. It calls for creative freedom are used as an instrument for achieving other, non-artistic goals, in most cases political ones, it is obvious that in such cases the discussion about any kind of freedom cannot remain within aesthetic bounds. Because, creative freedom implies freedom to openly discuss creativity itself. Democracy took nasty vengeance on the so-called guardians of democracy by showing to the public that they only appeared to be strong when allowed to merely whisper or to keep silent, when they imagined themselves to be the suppressed ones. Some of those crying out for greater freedoms, in fact, conscientiously and sub-conscientiously cry out for their own creative power."

In reference to the public information media he stressed that "such an intellectual force as the media are, must not be relegated to mere ideo-political and morally sterilized or spontaneous information. The press, the radio, and the television influence the public every day and in many ways. For this reason they must not be left without the public's reciprocal influence."

According to Stambolic, this is the time of great challenge for the media and all journalists. Some succumb to the temptations of unreliable sources of information, to the cheap magic of sensationalism and to the commercialization of even those values which under even more difficult circumstances were not for public sale. This approach; is most discernible in tabloids.

It is specified in the special section of the report dealing with the unity of the LC that the unity is a vital but not the sole prerequisite for the unity of the LCY and the LC of Serbia. If program principles relating to the unity are to be implemented the unity of the organizaton is also necessary. It is a liberalist principle that every individual part of a united organization should decide on how far they can go in their roles, rights, and responsibilities.

"Democratic centralism of today is not the same as the democratic centralism from the time of the Yugoslav Communist Party's underground struggle. Nor is it the democratic centralism from the time of revolutionary statism. However, it can neither be the democratic centralism of the "republic of freely associated labor." Fallacies of this kind could lead us to disorientation and discrepancies.

In a complex but united social and state community such as the SR of Serbia, particularism or factionalism in the efforts to resolve social issues would, objectively speaking, pave the way for a multi-party system in a united social or state community, Stambolic warned, or for the creation of conditions in which it would be possible for a unified state to be divided into several individual states. It is good that such tendencies have been thwarted.

In the final part of his report, Stambolic briefly outlined the main points of the report. "We do not need freedom fighters who want to abolish freedom. What we need is for all of us to assume responsibility for our own development but not overlooking joint work and common interests. We do not need unity without equality. What is good for Yugoslavia is good for every man and all of our nations and nationalities in it. If we are to continue Tito's revolutionary but realistic policy we need concord in the struggle for transformations on the basis of self-management, we need courage in facing the challenges of time, equality so that we can live together, defense capability in order to live in freedom, progress in order to secure recognition and prestige for Yugoslavia," Ivan Stambolic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee said ending his report.

Socioeconomic Commission

Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1058 GMT 26 May 86

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 26 May (TANJUG) -- Generally speaking, we have failed in implementing the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization, according to a report by Dr Borisav Jovic to the Commission for the Development of the Socioeconomic Relationship of Socialist Self-Management. All the main characteristics of the crisis we experienced at the time of the last congress are still with us, while some of them have become even more exacerbated, particularly inflation, Jovic said. It is obvious that the LC, more than any other factor, has failed to carry out its share of responsibility. It failed to achieve, within its own ranks and in the leaderships as well, the unity of ideology and action which is of prime importance for the accomplishment of the stabilization tasks, Jovic added.

Jovic stressed that there have been deviations from the demands contained in the stabilization program for limiting public spending. Major ideological controversies and work stoppages occurred in the manufacturing and market areas and in the use of social means, income distribution...[TANJUG ellipsis]

The efforts made so far to enhance the role of the market have not been adequate. There has been an improvement in the supply side of the economy, but at the same time market operations have become more haphazard, Jovic said. In Jovic's view, the Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System also underestimated the importance of manufacturing.

Jovic maintained that the unemployment problem should not be solved by turning it into a means for open social pressures on work collectives.

Any increase in the number of new jobs which is not the result of expanding economic activity would, according to economic laws, lead to a reduction in labor productivity, he said. Jovic insisted that workers' personal incomes should not rise unless there is economic progress.

According to Jovic, the new law on foreign dealings is likely to represent an important reversal in the implementation of the stabilization program. It will contribute to the elimination of many deviations in the economy, such as uneconomical use of foreign currency, speculations, unwarranted earnings, and also unequal status of some of the economic sectors and the attempts to destroy the integral Yugoslav market.

Jovic also drew attention to the absence of efforts to reduce the enormous overhead expenses which the economy can no longer sustain. The volume of public expenditures and social services has been reduced, but the state is inefficient and is costing a lot of money, he said. There is no simple solution for curbing inflation; the solution is complex and implies a comprehensive implementation of the stabilization program, Borisav Jovic said in ending his report.

More than one-third of all the delegates to the congress are taking part in the work of the Commission for the Development of the Socioeconomic Relationship of Socialist Self-Management; 110 of these have asked to be allowed to speak.

We must dive into the river and come out on the other bank, instead of looking for shallow waters, said Dr Desimir Jevtic, metaphorically expressing his thoughts in the discussion. Our society can be pulled out of the present crisis only by the working class and by forces which create new values. That we are capable of this is confirmed by those collectives which are achieving results which are up to a European standard, Jevtic said.

Responsibility for economic decisions and for the consequences of political pressures, while making decisions on development, have now in practice been relativized to inadmissible limits, it was said in the discussioin. [as received]

The Commission for Socioeconomic Relations stressed that we must reexamine whether, and under which conditions, solutions which guarantee all incomes can remain valid, regardless of poor and improper work as well as deficits.

Stojanovic Address

AU261938 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1108 GMT 26 May 86

Speech by Nikola Stojanovic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the afternoon plenary session of the 10th Congress of the LC of Serbia in Belgrade -- live]

[Excerpts] Comrades, I have pleasant duty on behalf of the LCY Central Committee to most cordially greet you, the delegates and guests of the 10th Congress of the LC of Serbia, and to wish you successful and fruitful work. [applause]

The conditions under which LC congresses and conferences and the 13th LCY congress are held are very complex and contradictory. The trends in international political and economical relations are unfavorable.

The economic crisis in the country is continuing. It is particularly expressed in the lagging development of self-management in the weakening of the material basis of associated labor, extensive method of production, high inflation, increase in unemployment, fall in the standard of living, and other unfavorable trends. All that causes great discontent of working people and citizens.

In such conditions, bureaucratic and technocratic relations that are mostly the cause of the crisis and the situation of crisis [as heard] are stubbornly resisting and finding suitable ground for more and more overt attack against the constitutional position of the workers class and social self-managing system, trying to turn back development.

The situation is made particularly grave by the activity of nationalist and chauvinistic groups and individuals of all hues, especially of Albanian nationalists and irredentists, in Kosovo, with a view to undermining the achievements of our revolution and the fundations of our social order. The LCY and all other progressive forces in our society have confronted the big historic task to accelerate -- by mobilizing workers class and all working people -- the processes of overcoming the economic crisis, to open prospects to a dynamic and harmonious social and material development, and uncompromisingly fend off the blows and attacks of all anti-self-managing forces against that which we have been creating for 40 years and which has been confirmed by history, and which we can be proud of. [applause]

Especially since the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee, the LC has opened the broadest democratic dialogue in the country with the workers class, workers, peasants, intelligentsia, youth, and the broadest peopole's masses to try to find ways out of the difficulties we are confronting. This dialogue gave harsh criticism of the situation in society, the work and activity of the organs of sociopolitical communities and organizations, and in particular the activity of the LC as the most responsible for development. The LC was especially criticized for inconsistently implementing the policy adopted, for allowing that policy to be watered down, for allowing vital interests and needs of working people and citizens to be neglected, and bureaucratic and technocratic relations to strengthen that much. [applause]

The 13th LCY Central Committee session has opened the process of more efficiently solving social and economic problems and creating conditions for solving the situation of crisis. We have settled many large open ideopolitical questions and dilemmas that burdened both the LCY and the whole of our society. We have rejected every attempt at introducing confusion about the concept of development of our economic and social system. The (?political) activity to the greatest extent suppressed the activity from nationalist and other positions contrary to the LCY policy, as well as the attempts to divert our development toward statism, that is the restauration of elements of bourgois society. The awareness was strongly manifested that all nationalism is dangerous because it is directed against the basic values of our revolution and toward breaking Yagoslavia apart. [applause]

The stabilization program represents a clear and lasting strategy of the development of our society and the solution of economic and other difficulties. We must therefore persist in consistently implementing it, removing all opposition and hesitation. The essential condition for this is to overcome dogmatic and anarcho-liberalistic attitudes in society on the whole, and in particular in commodity production and the market, to obey much the laws of socialist commodity production, while further affirming self-managing social planning. This can and must be achieved only through everyday and persistent struggle and creative activity of all socialist subjective forces of our society, and above all through ensuring the decisive role of the worker in associated labor in mastering the income and means of social production.

The broad debate on the Critical Analysis of the functioning of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management has demonstrated the unambiguous judgement of all progressive forces of society that the strategic orientations of our development given in the LCY program and the SFRY constitution are inviolable and the lasting foundation of the further development of Yugoslavia. The debate has also shown that it is necessary to change as soon as possible everything in the political system which has shown itself to be outdated and which hampers the efficacious functioning of the delegate system. The LC has great and urgent tasks on that plane. Life has shown drastically to what extent it is damaging and unacceptable to try to realize the responsibility for the development of one's own republic and province on the basis of bureaucratic criterion of protecting only one's own interests. We have seen that interests established in this way are not the real interests of the workers class of peoples and nationalities, and that we all lose if we act that way. That way only bureaucratic and technocratic relations and position in society are being strengthened. [applause]

The strengthening of unity and togetherness on the basis of the SFRY Constitution is a condition for development of the SR of Serbia and the whole of Yugoslavia. The consistent realization of common interests in the SR of Serbia must be based upon the interests of the workers class, upon the historic interest of the Serbian people and other peoples and nationalities who live in the SR of Serbia. Communists must resolutely oppose all attempts of nationalist, separatist, unitarianist, bureaucratic-dogmatic, and liberalist forces to take adavantage of the present situation for their [word indistinct] political purposes. We have firmly set the view in the LCY and society that the efficacious solution of Kosovo problems is primarily the task of communists -- Albanians, Serbs, Montengrins, Muslims, Romanies, and other progressive forces of Kosovo -- but also a constant obligation of members of the LC of Serbia and communists of other republics and provinces, the whole of the Yugoslav socialist self-managing community. [applause]

We also have the same attitude about the negation of the Macedonian nation or any other people or nationality in our country, or any appearance of nationalism, chauvinism, or any other tendency which attempts to estrange us. One of the factors of the grave situation in Kosovo is interference from abroad as well. That is Enver Hoxha's great Albanian policy. It is violating all principles upon which peace and cooperation in the world can only rest. Although it has an extremely anti-Yugoslav character, it also gives strength to remnants of fascism and all other reactionary forces that are against socialism in Albania and are anti-Yugoslav at the same time. And they were defeated by the national liberation struggle of both our peoples and the Albanians. All this is happening despite of our presistent intentions -- clearly pronounced in Yugoslavia's stands that are contained in the LCY Central Committee platform on Kosovo -- that we want good-neighbourly relations with independent Albania, cooperation on the principles of respect for integrity and of noninterference, of a cooperation on an equal footing which is in both sides' interest, and of the inviolability of borders.

This is the policy from which Yugoslavia will never deviate. It will always resolutely fight against a policy which violates those principles, which is against peace and cooperation on the Balkan peninsula, and which opens the possibility of interference of foreign forces, forces of domination and reaction.

The tasks that are now before the LCY are huge. We have clear guidelines as to what direction one is to turn the actvity of subjective forces of society. What is involved is a vision of Yugoslavia the development of which will be dynamic, coordinated, and intensive and which will enable us to successfully join the world division of labor and scientific-technological progress, and not only to remove the weaknesses that appeared.